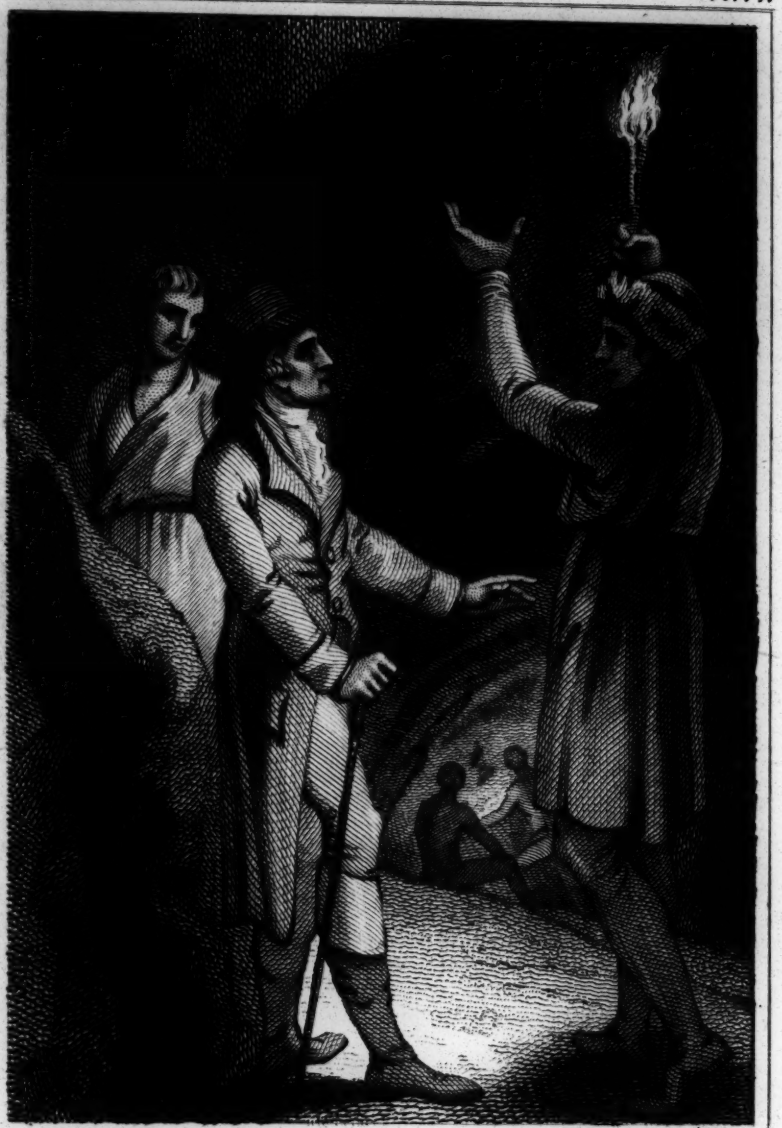

Kirk. del.

Dadley. sculp.

Mr. Wraxall visiting the Iron Mines of Danmora. p. 66.

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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE MOST CELEBRATED

VOYAGES,

TRAVELS, AND DISCOVERIES,

FROM THE

TIME OF COLUMBUS

TO THE

PRESENT PERIOD.

"Non apis inde tulit *collectos* sedula *flores*." *Ovid.*

By WILLIAM MAVOR, LL.D.

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BRITISH
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CONTENTS OF VOL. XVII.

TOUR through the northern Parts of Europe; particularly Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Peterſburgh; performed in the year 1774, by Nathaniel Wraxall, Eſq. interſperſed with ſome occaſional Remarks, - - Page 1

Travels in Portugal, chiefly relative to Society and Manners in that Country, by Arthur William Coſtigan, Eſq. interſperſed with additional Remarks and Deſcriptions, from Twiſs, &c. 155

Journey from Fort-Prince Wales, in Hudſon's Bay, to the Northern Ocean, for the Diſcovery of Copper Mines and a North-weſt Paſſage, performed between the Years 1769 and 1772, by Mr. Samuel Hearne, - - 341

TOUR THROUGH

THE

NORTHERN PARTS OF EUROPE,

PARTICULARLY

COPENHAGEN, STOCKHOLM,

AND

PETERSBURGH,

Performed in the Year 1774,

By NATHANIEL WRAXALL, Esq.

INTERSPERSED WITH SOME OCCASIONAL REMARKS.

THE ingenious author of this tour is ſo well known, that it is unneceſſary, in the preſent day, to give any particulars reſpecting him; and poſterity will be at no loſs to diſtinguiſh him among thoſe who have contributed to inform or amuſe the public, by his various valuable publications.

The preſent tour, which, in order of time, precedes that through France in our laſt volume, is written on the ſame plan, and poſſeſſes the ſame merit. To preſerve uniformity, and at the ſame time to do juſtice to the author, we have therefore given both in the ſame manner.

Mr. Wraxall's object on this occaſion, was to viſit the three northern capitals and courts, and to deſcribe the prominent features of each. He has not, however, been inattentive to other ſubjects which ſolicit the regard of an enlightened traveller. He has neither encumbered his narrative with details, which more properly belong to hiſtory and geography; nor omitted ſuch a view of the ſcenes through which he paſſed, as was likely to afford entertainment or inſtruction.

We commence our acquaintance with him, juſt as he was about to land on the iſland of Zealand; and as far as circumſtances allow, adopt his own eaſy and elegant mode of deſcription.

April 19th, 1774, about ſun-riſe, ſays Mr. Wraxall, I landed at Elſinoor: it was a pleaſant day, though cold. I preſented my letters of introduction to Mr. Fenwick, the Engliſh conſul, who received me very politely; and as he was much engaged with a multitude of buſineſs, ſent a domeſtic to attend me over the caſtle of Cronſberg.

This fortreſs ſtands at the narroweſt part of the Sound, and was probably intended to command its entrance; but it appears doubtful if it would anſwer this purpoſe againſt a reſolute enemy. It is a noble pile, built early in the laſt century by Chriſtian IV. and was then often honoured with the royal reſidence. It is of a ſquare form, and within is a fine quadrangle. The turrets at the corners are very ſuperb, and in the moſt improved ſtyle of Gothic architecture. I was ſhewn ſeveral large apartments, which are ſtill denominated the king's: there is nothing, however, in them royal, except ſome gilt leather chairs of equal antiquity with the caſtle, and ſeveral daubings of kings mounted on white ſteeds.

I deſired

I deſired to ſee the chambers which were occupied by her preſent majeſty, queen Matilda, during her confinement here; but they are, I find, thoſe in which the colonel commandant reſides, who it ſeems had humanity and politeneſs enough to reſign his, during her ſtay, as the royal apartments were not fit to be inhabited at the inclement ſeaſon of the year when ſhe was committed here; nor do they appear capable of being made comfortable at any ſeaſon.

While I was ſurveying the court below, a poor ſlave * fettered, came up, and taking off his cap, addreſſed me in French: I was charmed to meet with any thing with which I could converſe; for the Daniſh ſentinel who accompanied me could only tranſmit his ideas in his own language, which to me was perfectly unintelligible. I therefore entered into converſation with the French captive, and aſked him, if he was here when the queen Matilda was confined? Ah! Monſieur, ſaid he, I ſaw her every day; I had the honour to turn the ſpit for her majeſty's dinner; ſhe even promiſed to endeavour to procure me my liberty. I aſſure you, added he warmly, ſhe was the moſt amiable princeſs in the world. I could not reſiſt the force of his compliment to an Engliſh and an injured queen. I put my hand in my pocket, and gave him ſome half dozen ſtivers. Matilda was his benefactreſs, and I bid him thank her, not me.

About a quarter of a mile from Elſinoor, is a little hunting ſeat, where the king drives down frequently for a few hours in the ſummer. Nothing is worth ſeeing in or about the building;

* All miſdemeanors are puniſhed with the Danes by ſervitude in chains a longer or ſhorter time, according to the offence.

but

but the proſpect from the roof is beautiful beyond expreſſion: it looks down on the town of Elſinoor and caſtle of Cronſberg, and commands beyond theſe the ſound and coaſt of Sweden for a vaſt way. The town of Helſimborg in Sweden, which is exactly oppoſite, forms a fine object.

I peeped into the Daniſh church here; and was carried up to the high altar, which was entirely covered with a curtain. I expected a Corregio, or a Raphael, thus guarded. However, on drawing aſide the veil, I found it was only a collection of ſaints, martyrs, and apoſtles, in wooden alto relievo, all dreſſed out in gold leaf, with king Chriſtian V. in the middle of them, who ſeemed to ſtare like a man in amazement; probably, at finding himſelf in ſuch company. I was diſappointed, and yet could not help ſmiling at my miſtake. On turning round, I found myſelf ſurrounded by a number of yellow-haired boys and girls, who had formed themſelves into a ſemi-circle to look at the ſtranger. I was as much pleaſed to look at them, as they could be at me; and ſelecting one of the girls, whoſe *cheveux blondins* hung down on her neck in looſe diſorder, and whoſe whole figure was a beauty in miniature, for ſhe appeared to be only about eleven years of age, I went up to her, and preſented her with a ſtiver. The "*detur pulchriori*" was not more legibly written by the hand of nature on Paris's apple, than it was on my bit of ſilver; but my goddeſs was too young, and too innocent, to interpret it.

Mr. Fenwick's agreeable company and entertainment, detained me at Elſinoor till four o'clock or later, and I had then twenty-two miles to go in a chaiſe to Copenhagen. This vehicle, which

was

was an indefinable ſomewhat, apparently begot by a coach upon a cart, and partaking very much of both kinds, was drawn by four little Daniſh horſes; and notwithſtanding it appeared to me, when I got into it, very ill calculated for ſpeed; yet the driver whipped his cattle ſo frequently and ſo well, that I got to the capital about nine o'clock, which in this country is travelling at a great rate.

The appearance of the country between Elſinoor and the capital did not much ſtrike me; but I muſt confeſs, I ſaw it through a very bad medium, as I could not keep myſelf warm the whole way, though wrapt up in my great coat. The day cloſed-in a long league before I reached the metropolis, and I was indebted to the moon for her light the remainder of the road. After the officers had ſtopt me at the gates, enquired my name, and ſearched my trunks, I was ſet down at an inn, oppoſite the royal palace.

After ſome general viſits, and private avocations, during the firſt week of my abode in Copenhagen, I was accompanied, on the morning of the 25th, by two gentlemen, to Count Moltcke's palace. It is very ſplendid; and a fine taſte is ſhewn in the choice collection of the paintings which cover the grand drawing-room. Count Moltcke himſelf, who accompanied his preſent Daniſh majeſty to England, lives now in a ſtate of retirement, ſuited to his advanced age, and diminiſhed influence over affairs of ſtate. He was the favourite, and the miniſter of Frederic V. and ſo deſpotic was his ſway during the concluding period of the late reign, when the king, from perſonal and mental incapacities, ſcarce could wield

the ſceptre, that he was commonly called Konig, or King Moltcke.

The round tower in Copenhagen is very ſingular. It was built by Chriſtian IV. under whom the celebrated Tycho Brahé flouriſhed, and deſigned for an obſervatory. There is not a ſingle ſtep in it, though very lofty. The aſcent is by a ſpiral road, of near fourteen feet broad, from the bottom to its ſummit. A profeſſor, who ſhewed me over it, aſſured me, that one of their kings, drove in his carriage up and down it; and he even produced a book, as I doubted it, to prove the veracity of his aſſertion. I muſt own it may be eaſily done, though probably at ſome riſk of the driver's neck.

Every perſon of faſhion here ſpeaks French, and many of them Engliſh. The gentlemen of the army and navy in particular, are almoſt univerſally habituated to thoſe languages: they were, at leaſt ſeveral of them, with whom I fortunately fell into company, extremely diſpoſed to treat a ſtranger with every mark of urbanity and politeneſs; and I had abundant reaſon to be grateful for their civilities.

The weather was ſtill very cold, for ſome time after my arrival: we had hail almoſt every day; nor were there as yet any marks of that ſweet ſeaſon, which the Italians ſo juſtly denominate the *gioventu del anno*, but which is pretty much unknown to Daniſh poets. Indeed, I apprehend the year is more properly divided here into the ſummer and winter, than as with us into four ſeaſons. A ſhort ſummer ſucceeds to the long ſeries of cold and darkneſs, which environs them from October till April; and during this period, they often

often experience very great heats for a few days, or ſometimes weeks. Certainly man is much affected by phyſical cauſes, and one is not ſurpriſed to find the elegant arts chiefly confined to luxurious and ſouthern climates, and faintly raiſing their heads amid theſe ſnowy and inhoſpitable regions, where the inhabitants ſeem in ſome degree to partake of the aſperities of their ſoil, and where royal munificence, however unbounded, can only raiſe a few ſickly and ſtraggling plants.

So few perſons viſit this metropolis or kingdom from motives of curioſity, that they were quite ſurpriſed when I aſſured them I had no ſort of buſineſs here, and was only employed in the ſearch of knowledge. A ſhort time, however, is adequate to the completion of every purpoſe of this kind at Copenhagen.

There is no face of induſtry or buſineſs here; and Copenhagen, though one of the fineſt ports in the world, can boaſt of little commerce. The public places are filled with officers, either in the land or ſea ſervice, and they appear to conſtitute three-fourths of the audience at the comedy and the opera. The number of forces are, indeed, much too large for this little kingdom, which has not been engaged in war theſe fifty years. They can boaſt, it is true, a vaſt extent of dominion; but of what importance are the barren and almoſt uninhabited mountains of Norway and Lapland, ſtretching to the pole; or the plains of Iceland, where the inhabitants are yet, and will probably ever remain, in the moſt profound barbariſm? Their German dominions in Holſtein are by far the moſt rich, and furniſh a large part of the royal revenue. There needs, indeed, no ſtronger proof of the poverty of the kingdom, than the

ſcarcity of ſpecie. I ſaw no gold paſſing, and hardly any ſilver. They pay every thing in paper; and if a ſingle dollar is loſt at the card or the billiard-table, it is paid in a bill.

On the 27th, I went with a party of ladies to ſee the palace of Roſenbourg. It was conſtructed, as I am aſſured, by our celebrated Inigo Jones, and ſtands in the middle of a large garden. It is ſmall, and at preſent very little occupied by the king, or royal family. There is an air of antiquity in all the apartments, tapeſtry, and furniture, which is not diſpleaſing, and impreſſes with reſpect. The hangings, which are not ill executed, repreſent the various actions by ſea and land, which diverſified the ancient wars between the Swedes and Danes, who ſeem always to have had the ſame national rivalſhip and animoſity, which the French and Engliſh are diſtinguiſhed for, and which it is probable, they will ever in ſome degree retain. At one end of this grand apartment, are three ſilver lions, as large as the life, which ſeem, by the ferocity and rudeneſs of their appearance, deſigned to characterize the age and nation in which they were caſt. It is a ſort of ſavage magnificence, which ſtrikes more effeminate and luxurious times with wonder, to introduce ſuch figures into a banqueting room of ſtate.

Here are ſeveral ſmall cabinets full of curious rarities, which the various ſovereigns of Denmark have ſucceſſively collected, and left to their poſterity. Many of them are intrinſically valuable; others, only preſerved from ſome event or accident connected with them. Among the firſt is a ſaddle, on which Chriſtian IV. made a kind of triumphal entry into Copenhagen. It is covered with

with pearls, diamonds, and other precious ſtones; and the ſpurs are of gold, enriched with jewels. The coat worn by the king, and a light helmet on the ſame occaſion, are likewiſe covered with pearls. The value is immenſe. They preſerve likewiſe, with great care, a handkerchief of that prince dyed with his blood, from a wound he received by a ball, which deprived him of an eye. The man who accompanied us, ſhewed me, with exultation in his countenance, a ſword of Charles XII. of Sweden: it is ſuch a ſword as ſuch a monarch may be ſuppoſed to have uſed, and would ſuit the meaneſt ſoldier: it, indeed, evinces his ſtrength and vigorous frame of body, by its ſize and weight. The blade is at leaſt four feet long, and both the hilt and garde are entirely compoſed of braſs.

I could not help ſmiling when I entered the chamber in which Chriſtian IV. died. There are, indeed, ſome figures in it which may not improperly be termed celeſtial and angelic; but they are rather ill calculated for the regards of an expiring man, and would better become the cabinet of a young and healthful voluptuary. If his majeſty had been a Muſſelman, it might have been ſuppoſed he deſigned them as repreſentatives of the Houris, in whoſe arms he was ſo ſoon to repoſe his wearied virtue, and forget the toils annexed to royalty; but it ſeems he died a Lutheran.

The promenade in the gardens of this palace conſtitute one of the chief amuſements of the city, as they are always open, and on feſtivals or Sundays, are crowded with company. They are large, but not laid out with taſte, or adorned with any productions of art; one ſtatue only excepted

of Hercules vanquiſhing the Næmean lion, which ſtands under a portico raiſed to defend it from the inclemencies of the weather. This is of Italian workmanſhip, and the artiſt has found means to diſplay great anatomical ſkill and beauty in the muſcles of the hero.

Next day I went to ſee a private collection of rarities, paintings, &c. made by a Monſieur Spengler. He is by birth a Swiſs, but his urbanity and learning have made him a citizen of the world. I have always found the great and good to be of no country. His pieces of painting are, for a private individual, numerous, and yet very ſelect. Many of them have been preſented by the maſters themſelves, as tributes of friendſhip or admiration, made to his genius or his heart. They are, indeed, moſtly the production of German, Dutch, and Flemiſh artiſts. He is an excellent mechaniſt and anatomiſt, and has ſome pieces of workmanſhip in both thoſe branches of ſcience, cut by himſelf in ivory, which are reckoned chefs d'œuvres. I was not ſurpriſed to hear him call Dr. Fothergill his intimate friend; or to find that he kept up the cloſeſt correſpondence with the celebrated Linnæus. In juſtice to Denmark, I ought to add, that his late majeſty made this gentleman keeper of the royal Muſeum, and that he enjoys a very eaſy competence. I was charmed to find that his elevated underſtanding, and uncommon talents, had not allied him to poverty, which is too commonly the caſe in every country.

I afterwards viſited all the churches here, whether German, French, or Daniſh; but it is not in Lutheran places of devotion one muſt ſearch for the productions of art and elegance: Madonnas and

and Magdalens are confined to catholic walls. There is one church here, indeed, where they have placed ſix ſtatues of plaiſter before the high altar. As they have armed two of theſe with monſtrous gilt ſwords, as big as Charles XII's, and a third is employed in blowing a trumpet, I muſt own I took them, at firſt ſight, for a kind of guard drawn up to defend the holy place; but on a nearer approach, I found that they had chriſtened them all, and placed their names, ſeverally and reſpectively, at their feet, becauſe there was nothing appropriate to diſtinguiſh them. To four of them they have applied the Jewiſh appellations of the angels, which occur in ſcripture, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, and Michael; but unhappily, when they had got ſo far, having yet two nameleſs figures, and no more angelic titles, they ſeem to have been at a ſad loſs; under one of them, therefore, they have put the word Cherub; and to the other, is affixed Jeremiell. Who the latter is, we leave thoſe who are fond of ſuch reſearches to diſcover.

The police of Copenhagen is exceedingly good, and one may walk through the whole city at midnight with the moſt perfect ſafety. No robberies, no aſſaſſinations are heard of. They wear no cloaks, nor conceal any ſtillettoes under their habits, as in the ſouthern kingdoms of Europe. Indeed, it is uſually almoſt as quiet here at eleven o'clock at night, as in a country village; and ſcarce a coach rattles through the ſtreets.

I do not think this capital can be above the fourth part of the ſize of London, poſſibly not ſo much. It is fortified towards the land by a foſſé, always full of water. The ſtreets are commonly of a good breadth, and the houſes very neat and handſome.

handſome. There is one very beautiful place here, which approaches nearer to a circus than a ſquare; each ſide or diviſion of which is only one palace, and in the centre is an equeſtrian ſtatue, in bronze, of the late King Frederic V. I muſt own I was much more pleaſed with this, than with the Place de Victoires at Paris, and think it has a much better effect; but ſingle beauties always appear to greater advantage than when numbers invite attention.

I had not had the honour of being preſented to the ſovereign here, as is cuſtomary with ſtrangers from the other kingdoms of Europe. It was ſufficient that I was an Engliſhman, not to wiſh it*; and, indeed, with ſo jealous an eye are we regarded, at preſent, in this capital, that ſo little an individual as myſelf, ſo humble and unknown a traveller as I am, was not only publicly talked of, but even ſuſpected as a ſpy, becauſe I came from England, and had no avowed motive, except curioſity and knowledge. I therefore never went to the levee, which is every Friday; but attended the drawing-room, and mingled unnoticed among the crowd. I was there one night, when his majeſty, the queen dowager, and Prince Frederic, the king's brother, were preſent. To give a picture of the court, as it now exiſts, I muſt recur to the time of the late celebrated, and unhappy favourite, Count Struenſee. I have made it my endeavour, to gain the moſt authentic and unprejudiced intelligence reſpecting him, and the late extraordinary revolution, which expelled a queen from her throne

* This was written only two years after the cruel impriſonment of queen Carolina Matilda.

and

and kingdom, and brought the miniſters to the ſcaffold.

Struenſee, it appears, had not any noble blood in his veins, nor conſequently any hereditary and preſcriptive title to the immediate guidance of affairs of ſtate. Fortune, and a train of peculiar circumſtances, coinciding with his own talents and addreſs, ſeem to have drawn him from his native mediocrity of condition, and placed him in an elevated rank. He originally practiſed phyſic at Altena on the Elbe, and afterwards attended the preſent king of Denmark on his travels into England, in quality of phyſician. On his return, he advanced by rapid ſtrides in the royal favour, and ſeems to have eminently poſſeſſed the powers of pleaſing; ſince he became equally the favourite of both the king and queen. He was inveſted with the order of St. Matilda, inſtituted in honour of her majeſty, created a count, and poſſeſſed unlimited miniſterial power: his conduct, in this ſudden and uncommon eminence, marks a bold and daring mind; perhaps I might add, an expanded and patriotic heart. Unawed by the precarious tenure of courtly greatneſs, and more peculiarly of his own, he began a general reform. The ſtate felt him through all her members: the finances, chancery, army, navy, nobles, peaſants—all were ſenſible of his influence. He not only dictated, but penned his replies to every important queſtion or diſpatch; and a petition, or a ſcheme of public import and utility, rarely waited two hours for an anſwer.

The civil judicature of this capital was then veſted in thirty magiſtrates. Struenſee ſent a meſſage to this tribunal, demanding to know the annual ſalary or penſion annexed to each member;

ber: rather alarmed at this enquiry, they ſent an anſwer, in which they diminiſhed their emoluments two thirds. The count then informed them, that his majeſty had no further occaſion for their ſervices, but in his royal munificence and liberality, was graciouſly pleaſed to continue to them the third part of their avowed incomes, as a proof of his ſatisfaction with their conduct. He at the ſame time conſtituted another court, compoſed only of ſix perſons of approved integrity, to whom the ſame power was delegated. He proceeded to purge the chancery, and other bodies of the law. Then entering on the military department, he, at one ſtroke, broke all the horſe guards, and afterwards the regiment of Norwegian foot guards, the fineſt corps in the ſervice, and who were not diſbanded without a ſhort but very dangerous ſedition.

Still proceeding in this ſalutary, but moſt critical and perilous achievement, he at laſt began to attempt a diminution of the power of the nobles, and to ſet the farmers and peaſants at perfect liberty. It is not then to be wondered at, that he fell a victim to ſuch meaſures; and that all parties joined in his deſtruction. Theſe were his real crimes; and not that he was too acceptable to the queen, which only formed a plauſible pretext. It was the miniſter, and not the man, who had become obnoxious. I do not pretend, in the latter capacity, either to excuſe or condemn him; but as a politician, I rank him with the Clarendons and the Mores, whom tyranny, or public baſeneſs, and want of virtue, have brought, in almoſt every age, to an untimely and ignominious end; but to whoſe memory impartial poſterity have done ample juſtice. Yet I

muſt

muſt avow, that though I cannot think Struenſee made a bad uſe, he certainly made a violent and imprudent one, of his extenſive power.

He ſeems, if we may judge from his actions, to have been in ſome meaſure intoxicated with royal favour, and ſuch accumulated honours; and not to have adverted ſufficiently to the examples which hiſtory furniſhes of Wolſeys in former days, and of Choiſeuls in modern times, who moſt ſtrikingly evince the ſlippery foundation of political grandeur. When he was even preſſed, only a ſhort time before his ſeizure, to withdraw from court, and to paſs the Belts, with the moſt ample ſecurity for an annual remittance of forty, fifty, or a hundred thouſand dollars, an unhappy faſcination detained him, in defiance of every warning, and reſerved him for the priſon and the block. The queen dowager and prince Frederic were only the feeble inſtruments to produce this cataſtrophe, as being by their rank immediately about the perſon of the ſovereign; though common report has talked loudly of the former's intrigue, and attributed it to her imaginary abilities. The only mark of capacity or addreſs they exhibited, was in preſerving a ſecrecy, which deluded Struenſee and the queen Matilda, till the time of their being arreſted.

I was aſſured that, on the laſt levee day preceeding this event, the count was habited with uncommon magnificence, and never received greater homage or court ſervility from the crowd, than when on the verge of ruin. Such is the friendſhip of public men! On the night fixed for his ſeizure, there was a *bal paré* in the palace; the queen, after dancing, as uſual, one country dance with the king, gave her hand to

Struenſee during the reſt of the evening. She retired about two in the morning, and was followed by him and Count Brandt. The criſis was now come. The queen dowager, and her ſon Prince Frederic, haſtened to the king's private chamber, where he was already in bed. They kneeled down beſide it, and implored him with tears and expoſtulations to ſave himſelf and Denmark from impending deſtruction, by arreſting thoſe whom they called the authors of it. It is ſaid, the king was not eaſily prevailed on to ſign the order, but did it with reluctance and heſitation. At length, their entreaties overcame his reſolution, and he affixed his ſign manual to the paper. Colonel Koller Banner inſtantly repaired to Struenſee's apartment, which, as well as Brandt's, was in the palace; they were both ſeized, nearly at the ſame inſtant, and, as all defence was vain, hurried away immediately to the citadel.

It was five o'clock in the morning when the Count de Rantzau came to the door of her majeſty's antichamber, and knocked for admittance. One of the women about the queen's perſon, was ordered to wake her, and give her information, that ſhe was arreſted. They then put her into one of the king's coaches, drove her down to Elſinoor, and ſhut her up in the caſtle of Cronſberg.

The actors in this tragedy were not inſenſible of their danger. As they dreaded an inſurrection in Copenhagen, every military precaution was taken to prevent it; the moſt infamous and ſilly reports were circulated among the populace, to render the ſtate priſoners odious: that they had put poiſon in the king's coffee, to deſtroy him; that

that they intended to declare him incapable of governing; to ſend the dowager, Queen Juliana, out of the kingdom, as well as her ſon Prince Frederic, and to proclaim Matilda regent. To confirm theſe extraordinary and contradictory reports, the king himſelf and his brother appeared in a ſtate coach, and paraded through the ſtreets of the city, to ſhew himſelf unhurt, and as if eſcaped from the moſt horrid conſpiracy.

During theſe tranſactions, Struenſee and Brandt were detained in the moſt rigorous impriſonment. They loaded the former with very heavy chains about his arms and legs, and he was, at the ſame time, fixed to the wall by an iron bar. The room of his confinement was not above ten or twelve feet ſquare, with a little bed in it, and a miſerable iron ſtove. Yet here, in this abode of miſery, did he, though chained, complete, with a pencil, an animated account of his life and conduct, as a miniſter. A tribunal was appointed for the trial of the queen, and the two counts, and a council aſſigned for each, to preſerve an appearance of juſtice and equity. The reſult, and the winding up of the whole, on the 28th of April, 1772, are well known, and it is diſtreſſing to enter into particulars.

The equally unfortunate Count Brandt roſe chiefly under Struenſee's auſpices, though he was originally of an honourable deſcent. During a reſidence which the court made at the royal palace of Hercſholm, it happened that his majeſty quarrelled with Brandt, and, what was ſingular enough, challenged him. This the count declined. When they met ſoon after, the king repeated his defiance; called him coward; and Brandt, ſtill behaving with temper, as became a

ſubject, he thruſt his hand into his mouth, ſeized his tongue, and had very nearly choked him. In this ſituation can it be wondered at, that he ſhould bite the king's finger, or ſtrike him, or both? Self-preſervation muſt neceſſarily ſuperſede every other feeling at ſuch a moment, and plead his pardon. By Struenſee's mediation the quarrel was immediately made up; and the king promiſed never more to remember or reſent the circumſtance of his ſtriking him. Yet was this blow, given to preſerve himſelf from imminent deſtruction, and from the fury of an enraged man, made the pretence for his condemnation. They ſaid, he had lifted his hand againſt the king's ſacred perſon, which was death by the laws of Denmark. His lawyer, on his trial, made an excellent defence for him, and very forcibly remarked the eſſential difference between aſſaulting the ſovereign, and only defending himſelf from a private attack. 'One of our former monarchs,' ſaid he, 'Chriſtian V. was uſed frequently to unbend himſelf among his nobles: on theſe occaſions, it was his cuſtom to ſay, "The king is not at home." All the courtiers then behaved with the utmoſt freedom and familiarity, unreſtrained by the royal preſence. When he choſe to reſume his kingly dignity, he ſaid, "The king is again at home." But what, added he, muſt we do now, when the king is never at home?'—This ſeems more like the ſpeech of an Engliſhman than a Dane, and breathes a manly and unfettered ſpirit, which, in the moſt deſpotic countries, will ſometimes appear.

The ſkulls and bones of theſe unhappy men are yet expoſed on wheels, about a mile and a half

out of town. I viewed them with mingled commiſeration and horror. They hold up an awful and affecting leſſon to future ſtateſmen and favourites. They teach moderation in proſperity, by the mournful reverſe of fortune they diſplay.

It is ſaid Struenſee reſigned himſelf to his own ſentence without murmuring, or attempting to deprecate the blow; but that he expreſſed the utmoſt pity and abhorrence, at the flagrant injuſtice committed in ſentencing Count Brandt to the ſame death. They have portraits of Struenſee in all the ſhops, with this punning motto round them: *Mala multa Struens-ſee ipſum perditit.* Yet, in defiance of all the calumnies of a triumphant party, the terrors of a deſpotic government, and the natural reſerve among the people, there are, even here, who dare to ſpeak, though ambiguouſly, their genuine ſentiments on public affairs.

The king, in the opinion of all unprejudiced perſons, has certainly ſuffered much in his intellectual capacity, and they make very little ſcruple, in general, to own it. He can play, indeed, at cards; he can dance, or go to an opera; but he is, doubtleſs, in a ſtate of imbecility, which diſqualifies him for the conducting or ſuperintending affairs of national import, and public conſequence. There is a vacuity in his majeſty's aſpect, which is ſtrongly marked. The queen dowager and Prince Frederic live in the palace with him, and accompany him, like his ſhadow, wherever he moves. The prince has received no other mark of bounty from nature or fortune, than royal birth. He is very much deformed; and this perſonal imperfection has gained him the appellation of Richard III. among thoſe who

do not love the court, though it doubtleſs originated among the Engliſh.

They have a Daniſh comedy here twice a week, and an Italian opera in the king's own opera-houſe in the palace every Saturday; but I neither admire their ſingers nor dancers.

I did not ſee above three or four very handſome or very elegant women in Copenhagen. Perhaps I may be too premature in my determination, but I do not think them, in general, to be compared, for lovelineſs, with our own women. I have heard this court likewiſe decried as very profligate, and very licentious. It may be ſo, for any thing I can ſay to the contrary; but there are no ſymptoms of it viſible.

M. Splengler accompanied me through the royal cabinet, or muſeum. This collection is very large, and extends through all the vegetable and mineral worlds, as well as the finer arts. It is more indebted to Frederic IV. than to any other ſovereign. Every nation has produced her heroes and her patriots, on whom hiſtory delights to dwell. Some countries are, however, more fruitful in great and ſublime ſpirits, than others. In Denmark, they have had very few to grace their annals. Sweden can boaſt her two Guſtavuſes, the firſt and ſecond; nor are her Chriſtina, or her Charles, unknown to fame. In what country is not the name of Peter celebrated, the greateſt legiſlature that modern times have ſeen? But here the ſun of genius has never yet blazed from a throne, and ſhed a temporary luſtre on the ſurrounding darkneſs. There are, however, two favourite monarchs of Daniſh ſtory, whoſe memories are revered, and whoſe golden days are frequently recalled with a ſigh. The firſt of

theſe was Chriſtian IV. who was the opponent and competitor of Guſtavus Adolphus, though with far inferior fame. The laſt was Frederic IV. This prince loved the arts, and attached from that principle to the land where they ſeemed to hover and reſide, he made two viſits to Italy. As Chriſtian the IV. is uſually depictured on canvaſs or tapeſtry clad in armour, and holding a javelin in his hand; ſo this latter ſovereign appears the patron of ſcience, and the friend of the elegant and ſofter occupations. During a carnival at Venice, he reſided in that city, and in one evening is ſaid to have won, at the card-table, a bank worth two hundred thouſand zechins, or nearly one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, which he immediately preſented to a noble Venetian lady, in whoſe houſe this happened, and whoſe whole fortunes were involved in this prodigious game of chance. This was an act of munificence, or rather of juſtice, worthy of a ſovereign.

They now keep, among the greateſt and moſt valuable curioſities, the chair in which Tycho Brahé was uſed to ſit, when he made his aſtronomical obſervations at Uranibourg. The wood which compoſes it is held in reverence, and preſerved with the utmoſt care, as having belonged to ſo great a man. Yet the aſtronomer himſelf was driven from his native country by faction and malevolence; and died at Prague, in the court, and under the protection, of the emperor Rodolphus, who ſheltered this illuſtrious fugitive, and afforded him an aſylum. Thus it generally happens, that living merit is neglected or perſecuted; while poſterity, more juſt, conſecrates its memory to fame.

The collection of paintings in the royal museum is very large; and though it consists mostly of Flemish and German pieces, yet there are some few beautiful originals of Guido, Titian, Angelo, and even of Raphael's hand. Our own Charles I. by Vandyke, and his sons, by Kneller, hold a distinguished place. They were, by the mother's side, of Danish extraction. Their own painters or sculptors scarcely appear in this numerous assemblage. There are, however, some paintings, chiefly historical, by Charles Dremander, a Dane, not ill executed. Among these is one of the famous Margaret de Waldemar, who united, in her person, the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, receiving the homage of this latter from its sovereign.

The palace itself, of which the whole museum constitutes only a very small part, was built by the present king's grandfather, Christian VI. and, though it cost six millions of dollars, yet the inscription over the grand portal declares, that the sovereign erected it from the ordinary revenues of the crown, without laying any additional taxes or imposts on his subjects. This was, however, owing to the wonderous and laudable parsimony of his father, Frederic IV. who, notwithstanding the almost continual hostilities he was engaged in, with Charles XII. left his dominions in the most flourishing state, and an immense treasure, at his death. It is of a prodigious size; and, if I were inclined to find fault with it, I should say, it is too splendid and too magnificent for a king of Denmark; on the same principle, as foreigners constantly remark, that the palaces in England are far beneath the dignity and greatness of the British empire. One of the state apartments

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is very remarkable, and may be properly called, the chamber of kings, as it contains no other paintings except the portraits of all the preſent reigning monarchs throughout Europe. Theſe have been preſented by the reſpective ſovereigns. I could not but ſmile at the different characters and dreſſes in which they have been pleaſed to be drawn. The king of Pruſſia, who had ſpent his life amid camps and armies, and has oftener ſlept in an uniform than a coat of velvet, has modeſtly dreſſed himſelf in a plain blue ſuit of clothes, and the vizor peeps out at one corner of the piece, juſt to mark the warrior; while Charles III. of Spain, who has ſcarce ever heard the claſh of arms, has arrayed himſelf in complete armour, and frowns dreadful from the canvaſs. This ridiculous oſtentation of war only excites laughter, and ſtands finely oppoſed to the modeſt portrait of a prince, who might, with ſo much propriety, have inveſted himſelf with military trophies.

On the 4th of May, I made an excurſion in a party to Malmoe in Sweden. The paſſage is, at leaſt, as broad as from Dover to Calais. We were, however, favoured by the wind, and got back again to Copenhagen about ten o'clock at night. It is a poor town, though fortified; and we procured, with difficulty, a miſerable dinner at a wretched inn. We were very ill repaid, indeed, at Malmoe, for our trouble in viſiting it. Except the body of a monk, who was immured in the wall of the great church, I ſaw not any thing curious. Tradition ſays, this wretch lived nine days, as they fed him through a hole with eggs; and that this puniſhment was inflicted for adultery, which was formerly capital in this country.

Finding

Finding little more to pleaſe or entertain me in Copenhagen, I ſet out on the 8th of May, with a large party, to view the palaces. Our firſt ſtage was to Roſkild, which is four Daniſh, or ſixteen Engliſh miles from Copenhagen. It is one of the moſt ancient places on the iſland, and is ſaid to have been a conſiderable city, ſeveral centuries before the preſent metropolis was founded. This capital, indeed, owed its commencement, like Venice, to a few fiſhermen, who erected their huts on the ſea-ſhore, and finding it convenient for traffic, gave it the name it now bears, of Koibenhaven, or Merchant's Haven. The only remaining mark of the royal reſidence, which Roſkild yet retains, is, that of being the place of ſepulture of the kings. From the moſt remote antiquity, the ſovereigns of Denmark have been interred in the cathedral. The vaults, under the church, are very numerous, and the ground is covered with the coffins of kings, queens, and princes, who, though born in different centuries, are all now collected together, and placed in the ſame gloomy chambers, amidſt ſilence and darkneſs. The ſplendor which accompanies thoſe of exalted birth, even after death, is, in many of theſe, almoſt vaniſhed, and time has deſtroyed the gold and velvet, which originally marked their dignity.

I enquired for the celebrated Margaret de Waldemar, to whom hiſtory has given the epithet of the Semiramis of the North, and who united, under her reign, all the kingdoms beneath the polar ſky. The perſon who accompanied us over the vaults, aſſured me her body was interred here, and, by the light of his candle, enabled me juſt to perceive an iron door, all acceſs to which was blocked up by intervening coffins of monarchs,

narchs, her ſucceſſors. "Within that door," ſaid he, "is another, vault, where reſts the queen you enquire for. You can ſee no more." In ſuch a ſituation, it was impoſſible not to be impreſſed with that ſublime and awful melancholy, which ſcenes of this nature are peculiarly calculated to produce. The chilly and unwholeſome dampneſs of the air, the mournful light produced by a ſolitary taper, intruding on theſe abodes of darkneſs; the numerous dead arranged ſide by ſide, and marked with crowns to denote their departed grandeur; all theſe muſt have a moſt forcible effect on the mind, and will tinge with a temporary ſolemnity the gayeſt temper.

In one of the chapels are two of the moſt magnificent monuments in Europe: they were made in Italy, by order of Chriſtian IV. and are erected to the memory of his father and grandfather, Frederic II. and Chriſtian III. Round the tomb of Frederic II. all the events and warlike achievements, which marked his reign, are exquiſitely deſigned in baſs relief. I could not but remark, that Chriſtian IV. who erected theſe monuments, and who is the idol of Daniſh ſtory, has yet received no ſuch honorary tribute from his poſterity. The moſt deſerving are often the leaſt honoured in this reſpect; but the fame of deſert is not built of ſuch periſhable materials as marble.

Beſides thoſe two laſt mentioned, there are four others lately brought here, of two later Daniſh ſovereigns and their queens. Theſe are executed by the celebrated Wiedwelt, a native of this country, who is now alive.

We drove twenty miles from Roſkild, to ſee a foundery for cannon, begun by the late king, and called

called from his name, Frederic's Work. This the Danes expatiate on as the moſt extenſive and aſtoniſhing undertaking in Europe, both as to utility and curioſity. They may, indeed, make very good cannon, and other warlike ſtores, the work being exceeding large; but it is certainly no ſuch extraordinary production, either of genius or magnificence, as they eſteem it; or at leaſt it did not impreſs me with any ſenſations of wonder or pleaſure.

The palace of Fredericſbourg is only about five or ſix miles diſtant from this foundery. It is a very large chateau, moated round with a treple ditch, and calculated, like all the ancient reſidences of princes, for defence. It was built by Chriſtian IV. and, according to the architecture of the times, partakes of the Greek and Gothic ſtyles. In the front of the grand quadrangle, appear Tuſcan and Doric pillars, and on the ſummit of the building, are ſpires and turrets. It is at preſent very little viſited by the kings, and his preſent majeſty even altered the ceremony of the coronation, which was always performed at this palace by his predeceſſors, having been crowned in Copenhagen. Some of the rooms are very ſplendid, though furniſhed in the antique taſte. The knights hall is of a great length. The tapeſtry repreſents the wars of Denmark, and the ceiling is one of the moſt minute and laboured performances of ſculpture that can be conceived. The chimney-piece was once entirely covered with plates of ſilver, richly ornamented; but the Swedes, who have often landed on this iſland, and even beſieged the capital, tore them all away, and rifled the palace, notwithſtanding its treple moat and formidable appearance.

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It is a beautiful ride through the royal woods from hence to Fredinborg. This was the favourite reſidence of the late king Frederic, who ſpent the greater part of his time here, during the latter years of his life, in a kind of ſecluſion from his court and people. The Danes univerſally agree in ſaying, that he was generous, compaſſionate, mild, and virtuous: his heart was full of humanity, and he was infinitely beloved by his ſubjects, till he unhappily contracted a fatal paſſion for wine, which incapacitated him for every public concern; and brought him to an untimely death. The palace is ſmall; but the gardens are laid out very prettily, and are adorned with a number of ſtatues, done by Wiedwelt, the Rubiliac of Denmark. The ſurrounding country too is very fine, and there is an air of ſequeſtration and retirement ſpread through the whole, which highly pleaſes.

We next proceeded to Hercſholm, the moſt magnificent and ſpacious of any of the palaces. It was built by Chriſtian VI. and was the favourite reſidence of the court, during the queen Matilda's ſtay. The man who ſhewed us the apartments, did not omit to mention the names of Struenſee and Brandt, or to ſhew me the chamber in which the unhappy accident happened, already explained, when the latter ſtruck the king, and paid for it with his life.

However dreary and comfortleſs the iſland of Zealand may be in the winter, when covered with ſnow, it exhibits, at this ſeaſon of the year, a moſt pleaſing aſpect. It is flat every where, but covered with corn or woods, and cultivated with great induſtry. I more than once thought myſelf on ſome of the Wiltſhire or Hampſhire Downs,

Downs, by the great number of tumuli ſcattere about. Theſe exactly reſemble, in ſize and ap pearance, thoſe in England, and are probably an cient Saxon ſepulchres. I enquired if any o them had been opened by curious antiquarian as many of ours have been; but they ſeemed ſur priſed at the queſtion. I obſerved, likewiſe, ſe veral collections of ſtones in a circular form ſome of which are very large, and reminded m of Stonehenge, though they are on a ſmaller ſcale About theſe likewiſe they are totally ignorant and it would only be loſt time to attempt to gai any account of their origin, or conſtruction, fro the people who live near them. They have nei ther an antiquarian taſte, nor are there antiqua ries among them.

I cannot help mentioning a lively deſcription which a gentleman, remarkable for his wit, gave me of Zealand, ſoon after my arrival. I dined with him, and among other queſtions natural to a ſtranger, I aſked him if the country was plea ſant and agreeable. His anſwer was ſhort, bu very full. "Sir, on this iſle there is neithe mountain nor river; but as for lakes, thank God we have enough of them."

The weather was now become very warm, and I promiſed myſelf an agreeable journey through Sweden, in defiance of bad inns, and every incon venience I was threatened with. The ſeaſon was, indeed, uncommonly favourable. Only three years ago, they were yet buried in all the horrors of winter at this very time, accompanied with a dearth of proviſions, which approached to a famine. Carriages and horſes loaded with wood came over from Sweden on the ice, and returned again, at the end of April. It was the 6th of May,

May, when four Engliſh veſſels broke up the ice, and entered the port of Copenhagen, which could hardly have ſuffered greater hardſhips from the cloſeſt ſiege by an enemy, than it had done by the inclemency of the weather. It was midſummer before the leaves appeared on the trees, or the ſeaſon changed the aſpect of nature. I muſt own, the relation of theſe facts reconciles one to England with all its fogs and changes of climate, which, compared with theſe inhoſpitable countries, appear as trifling inconveniences.

I was much preſſed, by my friends here, to protract my departure for Stockholm a few days longer. Had I obeyed the impulſe of my heart, I ſhould moſt readily have complied with their requeſt; but as I intended to viſit Peterſburgh and Moſcow during the ſummer, beſides the laſt-mentioned capital, I was proof againſt any ſolicitations, however tempting. Though I had ſcarcely been a month at Copenhagen, I had very completely viewed every object worth a traveller's attention; and, therefore, could have no inducement to prolong my ſtay.

I, therefore, left that metropolis on Saturday morning, May 14th, and reached Elſinoor at noon. I could not help ſtopping on the road for a few minutes at the village of Nivad, to ſee the celebrated ſpot on which Charles XII. of Sweden landed. The Danes oppoſed his deſcent, and erected a battery of twelve cannon for that purpoſe; but the young warrior, who was, at that time, only ſixteen years old, drove them from their entrenchments, and was himſelf among the firſt of thoſe who leaped from the boats on ſhore. A celebrated author remarks, that great events, or actions, ſtamp a veneration on the ſpot where

they were performed, and impreſs the ſpectator with lively ſentiments of pleaſure many ages after. I had occaſion to remember this obſervation, while I ſtood upon the battery, the embraſures of which are now almoſt grown up to a level with the reſt of the turf, and which will ſcarce exhibit, in another century, any traces of this engagement. It was a beautiful day, and I could not reſiſt the united attractions of the Engliſh conſul's lady and Elſinoor, the former of which requeſted, and the latter demanded, my ſtay for a day. This lady is a native of Archangel, in Ruſſia, and is an eminent proof that thoſe frozen countries can produce minds as highly tempered, and as exquiſitely faſhioned, as the moſt happy and genial ſoils.

I croſſed the celebrated paſſage of the Sound next morning, though it blew very freſh. We were over in little more than half an hour. At Helſimborg, where I entered the Swediſh dominions, I had the pleaſure of viewing the beautiful landſcape reverſed, which I had ſeen the preceding evening from the iſland of Zealand. Which of the two is actually the moſt charming, I leave connoiſſeurs to determine. I muſt confeſs, I liked the view from Elſinoor infinitely beyond the other. Perhaps, private feelings gave riſe to my predilection.

I drove twenty miles in the afternoon, and was then obliged, by the approach of night, and the want of horſes, to ſtop at a miſerable little inn, or rather cabin, where I could procure nothing beſides milk. I lay down five hours in my clothes, and got again into the carriage at three o'clock next morning. Had I underſtood properly the manner of travelling in this country, which is to

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ſend a peaſant forward from every poſt-houſe, to procure horſes in readineſs, I ſhould have doubtleſs made a more rapid progreſs; but as I neglected this neceſſary ſtep, I was obliged to wait at every ſtage an hour or two, while the horſes were brought from the neighbouring villages.

The following night was ſpent in a more deſolate and dirty hovel than the firſt, where I wrapped myſelf in my great coat, and ſlept upon a table. In the morning, when I continued my journey, the whole aſpect of nature was changed. The ſnow lay upon the ground two feet deep, and the winter ſeemed to have renewed its empire over theſe inhoſpitable plains, even during the ſmiling month of May. In the hope of reaching Jonkioping at night, I ſet out, however, in defiance of the inclemency of the weather, which, from having been very warm, was become in a few hours as cold and piercing as our Decembers. The drivers ſeemed totally unaffected by this ſudden alteration; and the peaſants, both men and women, were all barefooted as before. The ſnow, however, conſpiring with the want of horſes, prevented me from reaching the town, and I lodged at a houſe, which, for horror of ſituation, I never remembered paralleled. It is quite detached from any village or hamlet, and the ſpot on which it ſtands is a bare rock, deſtitute of any covering or earth, and ſurrounded on every ſide by the deepeſt woods it is poſſible to conceive, and in which I had not ſeen one human creature for two leagues before my arrival. Yet, in this ſituation, fatigue made me ſleep very ſound, and my ſervant by me, till three in the morning, when, with the return of day, I entered my carriage, and bid adieu to this moſt melan-

choly and wretched habitation, which, however, had ſecurity to recommend it: for here no aſſaſſin or robber was to be dreaded.

I got to Jonkioping about ten o'clock in the morning of the 18th, and gladly enjoyed a few hours of relaxation after ſo many unpleaſing occurrences. It is difficult to give a picture of the country through which I paſſed from Helſimborg. The firſt twenty miles exhibited ſome few marks of cultivation and agriculture; and though there was not one collection of huts or houſes, which could be denominated a village; yet, ſcattered cottages, and a little ploughed land, amid an immenſe waſte, informed the paſſenger that it was not totally unoccupied or unpeopled. But as I advanced farther into the province of Scania, and afterwards into that of Smaland, even theſe faint traces of human reſidence vaniſhed. Groves of fir or aſpen covered the country; and in the courſe of ſixty miles I ſaw not a hundred people, and not ten hamlets: villages, there are not any. In ſome pretty long ſtages I did not diſcern the countenance of man.

In many places, the firs on either ſide the road formed avenues, as noble as thoſe which are often planted in the entrance to palaces, or noblemen's ſeats; and through the whole was ſpread a kind of rude and gloomy magnificence, which, ſuperadded to their ſilence and lonelineſs, very ſtrongly affected the mind. Even the birds ſeem to have abandoned theſe dreary foreſts, and I heard or ſaw none, except woodpeckers, and now and then the cuckoo. I enquired if they did not afford refuge to wolves or bears, as theſe animals are commonly found in thoſe countries and places which want population; but the peaſants aſſured me,

me, the former were only in ſmall numbers, and rarely ſeen: and as to bears, the race was extinct.

This deplorable want of inhabitants is one of the many evils which Charles XII. entailed on his unhappy kingdom. Unchecked by the defeat of Pultowa; by the loſs of his richeſt provinces and braveſt ſubjects, his rage for war, heightened by perſonal animoſity to the king of Denmark, induced him ſtill to exert new efforts, and make freſh levies of ſoldiery from his bleeding and exhauſted country; and though more than half a century has now elapſed ſince his death, Sweden has by no means recovered herſelf, or repeopled her uninhabited plains.

The peaſants are civil and humble to obſequiouſneſs, grateful for the ſmalleſt trifle, and infinitely leſs uncivilized and barbarous, than one would be tempted to ſuppoſe from the appearance of every thing around them*. I ſaw a number of very pretty forms among the women, who uſed to crowd round the carriage at every poſthouſe, either out of curioſity, or to obtain charity.

Had I not taken the precaution to carry wine and proviſions with me in the chaiſe, I muſt have been almoſt ſtarved in three or four days journey through theſe miſerable provinces, where the peaſants are ſtrangers to every kind of aliment, except bread, and ſalt pork or fiſh. It is, indeed, a queſtion whether the former of theſe deſerves the name of bread, as it is a compound of rye and oats; among which they mingle, in times of dearth and famine, a kind of flour made of the

* Refinement and civilization do not much depend on climate: they are influenced more by religion and laws, by example, and encouragement.

internal bark of trees raſped: it is of a colour approaching to black, and of a taſte to which only hunger can give a reliſh. As Charles XII. however, ſaid to one of his ſoldiers who complained, "It is not good, but it may be eaten."

My ſervant, who was a German, and had wandered over half Europe in various ſervices, was quite tired with four days of ſuch miſerable accommodation, and exclaimed in a rapture, at the ſight of Jonkioping, that it was *le paradis terreſtre*. It is, indeed, in itſelf a very neat country town, and moſt delightfully ſituated on the lake Veter. The lake itſelf, which is near a hundred Engliſh miles in length, extends far beyond the view to the north, and reſembles rather the ſea than a piece of inland water.

I left Jonkioping next morning, after the enjoyment of all that luxury of repoſe, which can only be purchaſed by preceding fatigue. My journey from thence, for near thirty miles, lay along the ſhore of the lake Veter, under the high mountains which bound it on the eaſt ſide. I then entered the province of Eaſt Gothland, and reached the city of Lindkoping, which is the capital, the ſame night. I was charmed to find myſelf once more in a civilized and inhabited country; every thing had aſſumed a cheerful appearance; and the groves of fir were ſucceeded by a cultivated and liberal ſoil, covered with grain, and exhibiting marks of induſtry.

Lindkoping is an inland place, very ancient, and has nothing to detain a traveller, except its cathedral. It was, however, ſo crowded at the time I was there with the Swediſh noblemen and their train, who were ſent to conduct the Princeſs of Holſtein-Eutin, deſigned for Prince Charles, his

his Swediſh majeſty's brother, that I had no little difficulty to procure a bed.

I lay at Norkoping the following night, which is only twenty miles diſtant from the former. It is a very large town, and remarkable for its manufactures of firearms, and every ſort of military weapons. I went over the whole work, accompanied by the landlord of the inn, who ſpoke Italian, and muſt confeſs, that it appeared to me highly to deſerve attention.

About four miles north of the town, I paſſed the high mountains which ſeparate Eaſt Gothland from the province of Sudermania. Here the country again becomes rocky, barren, and woody. A ſcanty ſoil, where induſtry, however indefatigable, can only produce a ſickly harveſt, covers the boſom of a vaſt expanſe of rock, which, in many places, appears bare and hideous, or only gives birth to a number of firs, which run up to a vaſt height on its naked ſurface, and ſeem kindly lent by nature to conceal, in ſome degree, her penurious and inhoſpitable aſpect.

I ſlept at a little village about twenty-ſeven miles from Stockholm. The road from Helſimborg to this place cannot be exceeded by any in Europe. It is made by the government, as thoſe in France, and renders travelling very expeditious, where the relays of horſes are provided by a courier. The horſes are all very ſmall, and, as they harneſs them abreaſt of each other, and never drive with a fewer number than four, it has the air of a triumph, rather than a poſt chaiſe.

I did not ſee one bit, however ſmall, either of gold or ſilver, in my long journey from Helſimborg to this place; nor have they, I am well aſſured, any ſuch commodities in the provinces.

In

In lieu of these two articles, generally used among us, they have copper and paper, which supply their place. Their bank notes are as low as one shilling and sixpence, and they have them of all values, rising gradually from that sum. It was often not a little diverting, when I tendered them one of fifty copper dollars, which is adequate to twelve shillings and sixpence English, to see them bring both their hands full of copper coins; nor can they convert it into current money by any other means. Money here may truly be said to be a burthen, as the want of it is a curse.

This extreme scarcity, or rather, this absolute want of all gold and silver, is one of those numerous evils which originated from Charles XII's passion for war. It is well known, that towards the end of his reign, he obliged his subjects to give up all the silver of which they were possessed, and in its place he returned them small copper pieces, which he ordered to pass as silver dollars, value nine pence each, throughout his dominions. This was Baron Gortz's invention, to supply the king with money to carry on the war in Norway; and it cost him his head, after the death of his master. Numbers of these coins yet remain, though their imaginary value exists no longer, and they are reduced to their intrinsic worth, which is somewhat less than a farthing, three of them constituting a halfpenny.

The weather was still extremely cold in this climate. There was, likewise, an evident difference between this province and that of East Gothland; in the latter, the trees were mostly in leaf, whereas here the spring was much more backward, and in some parts there were scarce any signs of its approach. These kingdoms may

well be called the domain of winter, ſince he reigns here for nine months in full poſſeſſion.

As I approached the capital, the country appeared ſtill more rocky, barren, and deſert, and at the diſtance of a ſingle mile from it, I was ready to fancy myſelf in the moſt unfrequented and deſolate wild. Nothing marks the vicinity of a great metropolis. Agriculture cannot exert her powers, or labour produce harveſts, where nature has denied the means. The eye diſcerns nothing on every ſide except firs and rugged rocks; and it would ſeem as if famine had here fixed her eternal reſidence.

I entered Stockholm over a floating bridge, of a very conſiderable length, acroſs the river. After having undergone a very ſtrict ſearch, at the gates, I proceeded into the city; and took up my lodgings cloſe to the palace; and, as my landlord informed me, in the very apartments where his grace the archbiſhop of Upſal reſided during ſix months, previous to the coronation of his preſent majeſty, which office he performed. Yet, a monk of La Trappe might almoſt occupy them without an infringement of his vow of mortification; and though I paid a ducat and a half, or fourteen ſhillings, a week, I was ſcarcely ever ſo indifferently accommodated in any city of Europe. The quality, which induced the archbiſhop to take them, was, no doubt, their vicinity to the palace. It would be difficult to diſcover any other to recommend them.

I cannot ſay that I found many charms, at firſt, in this city; the court were all in the country, at their reſpective palaces, and there was only one public diverſion during the week, which was a Swediſh opera.

In

In almoſt every point of view, the ſituation of Stockholm is injudicious and improper for the capital of the kingdom. Policy, plenty, and commerce, ſeem all to dictate another part of Sweden as much more eligible.

The inhabitants themſelves aſſured me, that the place owed its original, only about three centuries ago, to an accidental contingency, which may in ſome meaſure account for its unpropitious ſite. The viceroy, who at that time governed the country under Chriſtian II. of Denmark, determined to found a city; and inſtead of fixing on a proper ſpot for the execution of his plan, he very whimſically ſet a large piece of wood afloat down the Meler Lake, and reſolved that at whatever place it ſhould ſtop, there to build his projected town. A ſmall iſland arreſted the ſtick in its progreſs, and the name of Stockholm is ſaid to have been given it from this circumſtance.

I was ſhewn the exact point of land where tradition ſays it happened, and where the firſt buildings of the city were erected. However this be, it was hardly poſſible to have found a more barren deſert, or a leſs inviting ſituation in all almoſt all reſpects. Even the river has a number of inconveniences, as it winds in a ſurpriſing manner, and having no tides, ſhips muſt have a fair wind to reach the town; and ſhould it be contrary, it is abſolutely impoſſible. If I pointed out that ſpot of Sweden, which appears to me beſt adapted for the ſituation of a captital, I ſhould mention Carlſcrone. Its centrical ſituation between Copenhagen and Peterſburg; its vicinity to Pomerania and Germany; the fertile province of Scania, accounted the fineſt in Sweden, behind it; a port capable of containing the whole fleet, and in which

which they are at this time always ſtationed; its climate, more mild and ſouthern than that of Stockholm by ſome degrees; all theſe circumſtances combined, ſufficiently indicate its ſuperior advantages.

There is ſomewhat uncommonly ſavage and inhoſpitable in the whole circumjacent country here. Even in this lovely ſeaſon, when all animate and inanimate nature wakes from the long ſlumber of a polar winter, every thing is joyleſs and unfertile, and the rays of the ſun are reflected from the expanſe of ſtone which inveſts the city round on every ſide, and from whoſe boſom no verdure ſprings to relieve the eye.

This kingdom has, however, been more productive of immortal and ſublime ſpirits, than all the others of the north. I felt myſelf affected with a reverential awe, as I walked through the church which contains all that is mortal of Guſtavus Adolphus, of Torſtenſon, of Baner, and Charles XII. I ſtepped with decent humility over the vaults where their bodies are interred, and found a melancholy ſatisfaction in ſurveying the marble raiſed to their deathleſs fame.

I had ſeveral converſations with the natives here on the ſubject of the victories and death of the laſt of theſe heroes. They are almoſt unanimous in the apprehenſion, or rather avowal, that he was put to death by thoſe about him, and did not fall by a ſhot from the walls of Fredericſhall, as is commonly ſuppoſed.

Monſieur Voltaire has taken great pains to prove the contrary, and to vindicate the engineer who accompanied him, at the time, from ſo foul a ſuſpicion; but different concluſions may be drawn from his premiſes. "The king," ſays he,

"walked

" walked out to view the ſtate of the advance made by his forces: it was night; he kneeled down, the better to inſpect them, and leaned his head on his hands. In this attitude, amid the darkneſs, he received a ball into his temple, and fell on the parapet, fetching a deep ſigh. He was dead in an inſtant; but in that inſtant he had yet force and courage to put his hand to his ſword, and lay in that poſture. Megret, a French engineer, immediately ſaid with a coolneſs which diſtinguiſhed his character—" The play is over; let us be gone!"

Megret's remark was ſuch, as one can with difficulty ſuppoſe any man to make, who had not a pre-ſentiment of the winding up of this bloody cataſtrophe. Add to this, that the Swedes were tired of a prince, under whom they had loſt their richeſt provinces, their braveſt troops, their national riches. No diſaſters could reclaim the monarch from his ambitious, though unſucceſsful, purſuits; and therefore, nothing remained but to diſpatch him. It was a very favourable opportunity, and was improved to the utmoſt. The prince of Heſſe, his brother-in-law, made little enquiry into the affair, and all paſſed without noiſe or tumult.

I am the more inclined to give credit to this relation of Charles's death, from my own remarks on his dreſs. In the arſenal they preſerve, with great care, the clothes he was habited in at the time he fell. Theſe I examined very minutely. The coat is a plain blue cloth regimental one, ſuch as every common ſoldier wore. Round the waiſt he had a broad buff leather belt, in which hung his ſword. The hat is torn only about an inch ſquare in that part of it which lies over the temple,

mple, and certainly would have been much more jured by a large ſhot His gloves are made of very ne leather, and as the left one is perfectly clean nd unſoiled, could only have been newly put on. he right hand glove is covered in the inſide ith blood, and the belt, at that part where the andle or hilt of his ſword lay, is likewiſe loody; ſo that it ſeems clear he had previouſly ut his hand to his head on receiving the blow, efore he attempted to draw his ſword, and make eſiſtance. However, as he expired in the inſtant, o abſolute inference can be made; and after aving exhauſted conjecture, we muſt draw a veil ver this ambiguous and dark tranſaction, and eſt contented with that ignorance and uncertain-y which ſo often waits on the deaths of ſove-reigns. Dr. Johnſon juſtly ſays of Charles XII.

"His fall was deſtin'd to a barren ſtrand,
"A petty fortreſs, and a dubious hand;
"He left the name at which the world grew pale,
"To point a moral, or adorn a tale."

The palaces in Sweden, though numerous enough, are leſs ſplendid or magnificent than I have ſeen in moſt other countries of Europe. Neither architecture nor painting diſplay their beauties here, in any great degree; and their monarchs, though crowned with laurels and military trophies, have never ſignalized themſelves by the protection of the ſofter arts, which humanize and refine a nation. There is, however, one ſignal exception to this remark in the perſon of the preſent queen dowager. This exalted lady, who is ſiſter to the reigning king of Pruſſia, is the avowed protectreſs of letters, and encourager of merit. Her ſummer reſidence is at Droningholm. This palace is

worthy of notice, though it is neither large nor ſplendid. It is compoſed of brick, and was erected by Charles X. about the middle of the laſt century. Its ſituation is ſingular, on the banks of the Meler Lake, which almoſt waſhes one of its ſides. The gardens, which are large, and extend in front of it, form a fine contraſt to the proſpects from every other part, which are only rude rocks, firs, and water. It is the triumph of cultivation and elegance, oppoſed to that of a ſavage wilderneſs. All the apartments of the palace demonſtrate the fine taſte of its owner. Some of them contain collections of gems and medals; others are filled with natural curioſities, marbles, petrifactions, and inſects. The names of Paul Veroneſe, of Rubens, and of Rembrandt, are not here unknown, and ſeveral of their beſt pieces appear in the rooms.

I was aſtoniſhed to ſee ſo ample a library; the books are collected with great judgment, and are in every branch of ſcience. I was aſſured that the queen underſtands Latin as well as the modern languages; and I could not help remarking a Horace which lay open on her reading deſk, among ſeveral Engliſh, French, and Italian authors. She has enriched this palace with many valuable antiquities brought from Herculaneum; and the idols of Egypt, Serapis, Iſis, and the dog Anubis, are among her collection. I muſt own I was very agreeably ſurpriſed to find myſelf ſurrounded with all the richeſt productions of Greece and Italy, at a little villa on the banks of a lake in Sweden, where I only expected to ſee the ſtandards of Charles XII. or the battles of Guſtavus Adolphus, wove in tapeſtry. There are, however, two galleries which are painted in that ſtyle: one

is

is decorated with the victories of Charles X. and the other with thoſe of his ſon Charles XI. The kings of this country ſeem to have poſſeſſed talents for war by hereditary right; and we find not one of them, who appears in that point of light, to have degenerated from their great founder, Guſtavus Vaſa. In ſome families there appears an entailed heroic courage, while others ſhew the brighteſt virtues of the mind in lineal deſcent.

In the gardens, the queen dowager has lately built a little palace of pleaſure, in a ſemi-circular form, compoſed of ſeveral apartments fitted up in that taſte which we uſually call the Chineſe; though, unleſs a few Mandarins and Vaſes of China form this ſtyle, of which we really know ſcarce any thing, it may juſt as well be called an European ſtructure, where whimſy and caprice form the predominant character, and ſpread a groteſque air through the whole.

The city of Stockholm forms a very ſtriking contraſt to the capital of Denmark. It is larger conſiderably; but its ſuperiority of ſize reſults more from ſingularity of ſituation, than any real advantage it has over Copenhagen in that reſpect. It is built on ſeven ſmall iſlands, or rocks formed by the river, and the ſuburbs extend on the main land to a conſiderable diſtance, north and ſouth. The inequality of the ground renders almoſt all the ſtreets ſteep and inconvenient for carriages; but the houſes are lofty and handſome, though chiefly compoſed of brick. It is enlarged nearly half ſince the death of Charles XII. and there are many very noble ſtreets in theſe new quarters, of a vaſt length.

In the midſt of the city, ſtands the royal palace, on a hill very ſteep on every ſide, and commands

a complete proſpect of the metropolis, the river, and circumjacent country. It is ſquare, fronting every way, and though much inferior in convenience or ſplendor, in the internal part, to that of Copenhagen, has a better effect when viewed from without. It was begun by Charles XI. continued under Frederic and the late king, but is not yet totally completed. During the winter, the whole royal family reſide in it, though diſperſed in the ſummer months at their reſpective country ſeats. Many of the apartments are ſplendidly furniſhed; but there is nothing which can vie with Droningholm in the exhibition of art and refinement.

Scarce any thing can be imagined more lovely and agreeable, than the appearance of the river; it is divided into a number of branches, the ſides of which are covered with public buildings, and elegant houſes. In ſome places, where the breadth is very conſiderable, its ſtream is perfectly tranquil and ſlow; in others, where the channel is narrow, it ruſhes through with the impetuoſity of a torrent. So many ſmall iſlands are formed by it below the town, that almoſt every magazine of naval or military ſtores poſſeſſes a detached one; and there is a wild and romantic caſt through the whole landſcape, which is not unpleaſing to the ſpectator, and which characterizes northern views.

The quay is not long, but of a prodigious breadth; and I am aſſured there is ten fathoms water cloſe to the ſhore. In ſeveral reſpects it is almoſt unrivalled.

I had the honour to be preſented to the king on the 2d of June; and of a prince ſo diſtinguiſhed for his abilities, and who at the early age of twenty-

twenty-ſix, was able to change the form of government, without blood or difficulty, it is impoſſible to be ſilent. But to give a more complete idea of the late revolution, and of its cauſes and conſequences, it is neceſſary to take a review of the Swediſh hiſtory for about half a century back.

The oppreſſion of the concluding years of the reign of Charles XII was ſuch, that on his death in 1718, the ſtates obliged his ſiſter Ulrica Eleonora, previous to her aſcending the throne, to renounce all hereditary right or abſolute power, and to hold the crown merely by elective conſent. She reſigned even this limited ſovereignty two years after, into the hands of her huſband the prince of Heſſe, who died in 1751. He had the reputation of a brave and active king, and it is generally apprehended, would have repoſſeſſed himſelf of that power which his queen had been deprived of, if his want of children had not made him indifferent to ſuch an acquiſition.

Adolphus, the late ſovereign, was a weak man, and under him the democratical authority attained its utmoſt height. The royal revenue was very inadequate to his dignity, and his weight in the ſcale of government became inconſiderable and deſpiſed.

In this ſituation Guſtavus III. ſucceeded to the crown. He poſſeſſed the ſame advantage over his two immediate predeceſſors, which his preſent majeſty George III. of England did over his, on his acceſſion; that he was born in the country over which he reigned, and ſpoke the language perfectly. The Swedes, who, ſince the year 1720, had ſeen only foreigners on the throne, were charmed to have once more a king from among

themſelves; and ſilver medals were ſtruck to commemorate this happy era, on the reverſe of which is this inſcription—*Fadern's land et,* "It is my native land."

If full credit is to be given to the accounts of the late procedures of government, while veſted in the ſenate, it was high time to redreſs the injuries they did the ſtate, which ſuffered greater evils from their reſolution, the delays, the diviſions of a large aſſembly, than it can ever undergo from an abſolute monarch. Time had matured theſe ſeeds of diſſatisfaction; and a young prince, beloved by his ſubjects, was ready to take advantage of them.

On the 19th of Auguſt, 1772, this extraordinary event was produced, which again reſtored to the crown thoſe prerogatives ſhe had loſt for more than half a century. The king's ſecrecy, addreſs, and diſſimulation, in ſo dangerous and critical a juncture, far ſurpaſſed what might have been expected from his age. It is ſaid only five perſons in the kingdom were intruſted with the deſign, which was carried into execution with as much vigour, as it had been planned with ſagacity and judgment. The ſoldiery and the people were ſucceſſively gained by the eloquence with which the young king addreſſed them. Very few perſons were impriſoned, and that only for a ſhort time; nor have any of them experienced, in the ſmalleſt degree, any diminution of the royal favour on account of their oppoſition. The ſenate took a new oath of allegiance to the prince, and tranquillity was reſtored throughout the kingdom.

It muſt not be imagined, however, that an unlimited monarchy is eſtabliſhed in Sweden. On the contrary, they pretend that the preſent form of

of government is built on the model of the Engliſh one, and that in ſome important particulars, the ſovereign is more reſtricted than ours, ſince he can neither make war nor peace without the approbation of the other branches of the adminiſtration. It is, however, difficult to ſay, what limits are exactly fixed, or how far they may be enlarged and infringed, particularly under a prince who has already ſucceeded in his firſt enterpriſe, and certainly poſſeſſes, in an eminent degree, many of thoſe qualifications and talents, which have a prodigious influence over the multitude.

He is affable in his manners and converſation even to condeſcenſion, which muſt infallibly render him beloved. He inſpects into every department of ſtate in his own perſon, and the meaneſt ſubject may preſent his grievances without fear of repulſe. His ſoldiery adore him, and the peculiar attention he pays to their diſcipline, the continual reviews he makes of his regiments in different parts of his dominions, his diſdain of fatigue, and undoubted perſonal courage, may probably render Sweden ſome years hence more important in the ſcale of Europe, than ſhe has been ſince Charles's death *. Unable to reward thoſe officers who adhered particularly to him at the revolution, with penſions or pecuniary emoluments, he has found means to attach them by ribbons and ſtars, which he diſtributed without parſimony, and which are equally effectual, without draining an exhauſted treaſury. He has likewiſe

* The melancholy cataſtrophe of Guſtavus III. who began his career with ſo much addreſs, and ſhewed ſuch proofs of firmneſs and magnanimity on many trying occaſions, is ſtill freſh in the recollection of the public.

founded

founded a new order of knighthood, known by the name of Vaſa, deſigned for men of merit in every ſtation, and which is conferred, without the leaſt attention to birth or diſtinction, on every man who deſerves well of his country.

His majeſty is active on all occaſions, more commonly on horſe-back than in a carriage, and has rarely any of the parade of royalty. In his perſon he is rather low, and inclined to thinneſs; his face is not handſome, and, what is ſingular, one ſide of it does not reſemble the other, his features being a little diſtorted; an accident which probably happened in the birth.

I could not help remarking, in thoſe rooms which the king occupies, that the walls were covered with views of Narva and Pultowa, and that on the tables lay plans of battles and ſieges innumerable, chiefly thoſe fought by Charles XII. and the other Swediſh kings. This plainly evinces the nature of his ſtudies.

On the 3d of June, I quitted Stockholm, in company with a gentleman who did me the honour to be my guide, in a tour to Upſal and the Mines, and to whoſe politeneſs and attention I was exceedingly indebted. We ſtepped into our vis-à-vis about ſix in the evening, and only ſtopping to change horſes, about three o'clock in the morning, we arrived at the gentleman's ſeat, where we propoſed making a ſhort ſtay. I can hardly ſay we travelled by night, ſince, at this ſeaſon of the year, darkneſs is unknown, and I could have very eaſily read a good print at midnight. The houſe is built in one of the moſt eligible and pleaſant ſituations in this country, on the banks of a lake, about nine Engliſh miles in circumference, and in a cultivated country. In the afternoon

noon of the enſuing day, we croſſed the lake in a boat, where it was about a league broad, to view the ruins of a caſtle on the oppoſite ſide, which exactly faces the houſe where we were entertained, and forms a beautiful termination of the view. An ancient peaſant conducted us through ſuch of the apartments as are yet acceſſible. He ſaid, it was called Morby Palace, and had been built no leſs than eleven hundred years ago. It paſſed finally into the renowned family of the Oxenſtierns, who inhabited it in the laſt century, but quitted it on account of its continual want of repairs. He added, that many of the Swediſh ſovereigns; in days of yore, had viſited it, and that national diets had been held within its walls. It has, indeed, a moſt venerable and majeſtic appearance at this time, and there ſeemed to be an air of departed ſplendor ſpread through the whole, which corroborated very ſtrongly the peaſant's ſtory. The evening was uncommonly fine, the ſun ſhone full upon the ruins of the building, and its walls were waſhed by the waters of the lake. All nature around was ſerene and placid; no wind ruffled the ſurface.

We returned before ſupper to our benevolent hoſt, who omitted nothing to render our viſit agreeable, and preſſingly ſolicited us to prolong it ſome days. Early next morning, however, we proceeded on our journey, and were entertained at another magnificent country ſeat, belonging to the ſame gentleman, about thirty miles from the firſt, by his ſteward, to whom he had previouſly ſent orders for that purpoſe. We drove twenty miles in the afternoon, and alighted about five at a palace, rather than a villa, belonging to a lady, whoſe huſband was an Engliſhman, and was lately

lately dead. The name of the houſe is Forſmark. She was playing at cheſs, with an old nobleman, when we entered, and moſt politely bid us welcome; requeſting us, at the ſame time, to make as long a ſtay as our time would admit. I complied with ſo polite an invitation, without knowing the ſuperadded inducements I afterwards found. Tea was brought, and two ladies, who, as well as ourſelves, were viſiters, entered the room. The eldeſt of theſe might, perhaps, be about ſixty. She was a native of England, and was married to Count Gyllenbourg, during his reſidence as envoy at the court of London, in the reign of George I. The youngeſt, who was her niece, might be between nineteen and twenty years of age. A few freckles, which the ſun had produced on her ſkin, in ſpite of every care to prevent it, only ſerved to ſet off the faireſt complexion in the world. Her features were very ſmall, and the contour of her face more approaching to the round than oval. Her under lip, in ſpeaking, hung a little down, and diſcloſed, at times a range of teeth perfectly clean and white. The colour of her eyes was grey; but nature had given them a perſuaſive and affecting eloquence, which left the gazer no power to critically examine them. Her hands were exquiſitely formed; her fingers long, and her nails finely ſhaped. Her habit was a *jeſuite a la campagne*. It was of purple brown, trimmed with white ſilk, and reaching to the wriſts. Round her neck ſhe wore a blue and white ſatin binding, and from that depended a little diamond croſs. Her hair was light, and dreſſed with a very becoming grace.

Through her whole perſon and dreſs, was a *propreté* and neatneſs, which was ſtrikingly attractive,

ive, and which had peculiar merit in a country where the women of every condition, are rather liable to the contrary imputation. Her conversation was ſuch as became a perſon of education and condition. She ſpoke the pureſt French, and with the moſt graceful delivery, and could converſe fluently in Engliſh, which ſhe had learned from her aunt. She ſung prettily, and at my requeſt favoured me with two or three Swediſh, as well as French ſongs. I was more pleaſed with the former, which I did not underſtand, than with the latter, which I could perfectly comprehend. I wiſhed to know the ſentiment couched under the words, and deſired her to inform me what was the ſubject of them. She declined this explanation, from an incapacity of transfuſing its beauty into another language; and I ſeemed perfectly convinced, that her avowed excuſe was juſt, though my heart aſſigned a truer reaſon for her refuſal, and gave me, perhaps, as faithful an idea of the ſong, as a literal tranſlation could have done. It is needleſs to ſay, I paid to ſuch a woman all that humble and aſſiduous attention, which her perſonal and mental accompliſhments ſo juſtly challenged, and to which I could not be inſenſible. She ſeemed pleaſed with my endeavours to render myſelf acceptable to her, and I had the vanity and the weakneſs to imagine, that I had ſoon ſome little intereſt in her eſteem. We all breakfaſted in our ſeparate rooms the next morning, according to the cuſtom here; where people never meet, as in England, round a large tea-table.

On coming down, I found Count Liewen, the nobleman whom I mentioned at my firſt arrival. He poſſeſſes the higheſt honours Sweden can beſtow,

ſtow, being one of the ſixteen ſenators, and knight of the Seraphim, which is the moſt honourable of any order. Our converſation turning on Charles XII. his character, and victories I aſked him, if he remembered that monarch's death, and would favour me with the particulars of it. He gave me the fulleſt anſwer to this queſtion, as nearly as memory will allow, in the following words:

"There are now very few alive, ſaid he, who can ſpeak with ſo much certainty to that point as myſelf. I was in the camp before Fredericſhall and had the honour to ſerve the king in quality of page, on that night when he was killed. I have no doubt that he was aſſaſſinated. The night was extremely dark, and it was almoſt an impoſſibility that a ball from the fort could enter his head at the diſtance, and on the ſpot where he ſtood. I ſaw the king's body, and am certain the wound in his temple was made by a piſtol bullet. Who gave it is unknown. Siker was ſuſpected, becauſe he was not with his majeſty previous to the blow, but appeared a moment after. Thoſe, added he, who are uſed to military affairs, know the report and noiſe which a cannon ball makes; but the report of the ſhot, which deſtroyed the king, was that of a piece cloſe at hand, and totally different. It was the general opinion in the army at the time, that he was put to death by a private hand."

I was abſolutely enchanted with the converſation of this venerable nobleman, and felt that wiſdom can faſcinate as much as beauty, where it is ſo pre-eminently poſſeſſed. Was not my ſelf-command, therefore, to be applauded, when, in ſpite of ſo many inducements to prolong my ſtay,

I yet forced myſelf away the following evening, and purſued, though with reluctance, my intended journey? I muſt, however, mention one circumſtance relative to the young lady of whom I ſpoke before, which may, perhaps, raiſe a ſmile at my expence. There is an odd *etiquette* adjuſted in this part of the world for female deportment, which permits to a lover, or an acquaintance, the moſt unbounded familiarity with the hand of his miſtreſs; but her lips, nay, her very cheek is a palladium which ſhe guards with unremitting vigilance, and to which neither eloquence nor ſubtilty can uſually procure him any acceſs. I was reſolved to try whether I could not ſurmount this vexatious obſtacle, and obtain one conqueſt over the tyranny of preſcription. I bethought me of a ſtratagem, and already bound my brow with the myrtles I made myſelf ſure of gathering. When I was taking my leave, I began with the miſtreſs of the manſion, and returning her my warmeſt acknowledgments for her bounty and hoſpitality, bowed moſt reſpectfully on her hand, which ſhe gave me to ſalute. "And now, madam," ſaid I in Engliſh to the old lady, "I ſhall take leave of you in the Engliſh ſtyle: I am ſure you have no objection." So ſaying, I put my arms about her neck, and kiſſed her cheek. She was very well ſatisfied with this piece of gallantry, and ſaid to me, laughing, "Go and ſerve Charlotte ſo." I advanced, elate with joy, and throwing into my attitude and countenance, the utmoſt humility and ſupplication, aſked if I might not aſpire to ſuch an honour. I ſhould not, however, have waited for an explicit conſent, and was juſt going to reap the fruit of my intrigues and labours, when, ſtepping

back haſtily two paces, ſhe laid her hand on her breaſt, with an air which implied more than any words could have done, and throwing a look at me of ſurpriſe and refuſal—"Sir," ſaid ſhe, "you muſt remember that I am a native of Sweden."—She needed not to be more minute or firm in her determination: I ſaw that I had undertaken an enterpriſe above my capacity, and had only to endeavour to retire with honour. Her hand ſhe tendered me; and making a virtue of neceſſity, I imprinted on it a cold kiſs, and bade her farewel. She looked at me when I left the room, and accompanying us to the gate, followed the carriage with her eye till it was out of ſight. Whether ſhe intended this as ſome compenſation for her rejection of my attempt, or whether ſhe did not partly repent of having refuſed, from an illiberal prejudice, ſo innocent a liberty, I cannot pretend to ſay.

We lay at a very pretty village, called Oſtarby, on the night of the 5th, and went about three miles next morning to ſee the mines of Danmora. They are celebrated for producing the fineſt iron ore in Europe, the iron of which is exported into every country, and conſtitutes one of the moſt important ſources of the national wealth and royal revenue. The ore is not dug, as in the mines of tin or coal, which we have in England, but is torn up by powder. This operation is performed every day at noon, and is one of the moſt tremendous and awful it is poſſible to conceive. We arrived at the mouth of the great mine, which is near half an Engliſh mile in circumference, in time to be preſent at it. Soon after twelve, the firſt exploſion began. I cannot compare it to any thing ſo aptly as ſubterraneous

thunder, or rather volleys of artillery diſcharged under ground. The ſtones are thrown up by the violence of the powder to a vaſt height above the ſurface of the ground, and the concuſſion is ſo great as to ſhake the ſurrounding earth or rock on every ſide.

As ſoon as the exploſions were finiſhed, I determined to deſcend into the mine. There is no way to do this, but in a large deep bucket, capable of containing three perſons, and faſtened by chains to a rope. The inſpector, at whoſe houſe I had ſlept the preceding night, took no little pains to diſſuade me from the reſolution, and pointed out the frequent and melancholy accidents that happen on ſuch occaſions, from which no care could abſolutely enſure me. Finding, however, that I was deaf to all his remonſtrances, he provided me a clean bucket, and put two men into it to accompany me. I am not aſhamed to own, that when I found myſelf thus ſuſpended between heaven and earth by a rope, and looked down into the deep and dark abyſs below me, to which I could ſee no termination, I ſhuddered with apprehenſion, and half repented my curioſity. This was, however, only a momentary ſenſation, and before I had deſcended a hundred feet, I looked round on the ſcene with very tolerable compoſure. I was near nine minutes before I reached the bottom, it being eighty fathoms, or four hundred and eighty feet. The view of the mine, when I ſet my foot to the earth, was awful and ſublime in the higheſt degree: whether terror or pleaſure formed the predominant feeling as I looked at it, is hard to ſay. The light of the day was very faintly admitted into theſe ſubterranean caverns. In many places it

was abſolutely loſt, and flambeaux ſupplied its place. I ſaw beams of wood acroſs ſome parts from one ſide of the rock to the other, where the miners ſat, employed in boring holes for the admiſſion of powder, with the moſt perfect unconcern, though the leaſt dizzineſs, or even a failure in preſerving their equilibrium, muſt have made them loſe their ſeat, and daſhed them to pieces againſt the rugged ſurface of the rock beneath. The fragments torn up by the exploſion previous to my deſcent, lay in vaſt heaps on all ſides, and the whole ſcene was calculated to inſpire a gloomy admiration.

I remained three quarters of an hour in theſe gloomy and frightful caverns, and traverſed every part of them which was acceſſible, conducted by my guides. The weather above was very warm, but here the ice covered the whole ſurface of the ground, and I found myſelf ſurrounded with the colds of the moſt rigorous winter, amid darkneſs and caves of iron. In one of theſe, which ran a conſiderable way under the rock, were eight wretches warming themſelves round a charcoal fire, and eating the little ſcanty ſubſiſtence produced from their miſerable occupation. They roſe with ſurpriſe at ſeeing ſo unexpected a gueſt among them, and I was not a little pleaſed to dry my feet, which were wet with treading on the melted ice, at their fire.

There are no leſs than one thouſand three hundred of theſe men conſtantly employed in the mines, and their pay is only a copper dollar, or three pence Engliſh, a day. They were firſt opened about 1580, under the reign of John III. but have only been worked conſtantly ſince Chriſtina's time. After having gratified my curioſi-

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y, with a full view of theſe ſubterranean apartments, I made the ſignal for being drawn up, and felt ſo little terror while reaſcending, compared with that of being let down, that I am convinced, in five or ſix times more, I ſhould have been perfectly indifferent to it. So ſtrong is the effect of cuſtom on the human mind, and ſo contemptible does danger or horror become, when familiarized by continual repetition.

Leaving the mines of Danmora, we proceeded to the ſeat of Baron de Geer, at Loffta, which is about twenty miles diſtant. He was gone, himſelf, into the province of Geſtricia, only the day before; but had left the ſtricteſt orders for our entertainment and reception with his ſteward, who performed with punctuality his maſter's command, and ſeemed to know no bounds to his hoſpitality and reſpect. This is one of the handſomeſt country ſeats in Sweden, and is, I believe, one of the moſt northern in Europe. Nature is every where forced at an immenſe expence, and art has omitted nothing to embelliſh and adorn a ſpot, which, without it, muſt be a melancholy marſh, devoid of any beauty or charm. It may be a very agreeable reſidence for a few weeks in July and Auguſt, but is too near the pole, to be tolerable the far greater part of the year. Such is my deteſtation of theſe inhoſpitable and polar countries, that no honours or fortunes could tempt me to remain in them, and I would rather reſide in a cottage, beneath a temperate and genial heaven, than in a palace inveſted ſo many months with ice and darkneſs. This ſentiment the Swedes laugh at, and aſſure me that there are pleaſures in furs and ſledges, and the rigours of winter, of which I have no conception. I am very ready

to allow it, and only desire to be excused from experiencing them in my own person. Providence has been kind enough to the natives of all countries, to inspire them with a predilection for their own, or to blind them to its disadvantages; but this cannot apply to strangers, who are at liberty to compare, and free to judge.

From Baron de Geer's seat, we had about twenty-five miles to the river Dahl, which divides the provinces of Upland and Gestricia. Here we left our carriage, and passed over in a boat to the island of Elscar-Eue. It is about three miles in circumference, and almost entirely covered with woods of aspen, birch, and fir, which, at this season of the year, are very beautiful, and spread a gloom and awfulness not unpleasing to a contemplative mind. We lodged at a very genteel house, the master and mistress of which omitted no endeavours to render our visit agreeable. It was our intention to have made but a short stay here, but I found it impossible so soon to quit a place where I enjoyed the most sublime and wondrous prospect I can almost conceive. This is the cataract of the river Dahl, about a mile and a half distant from the house where we took up our abode.

The Dahl rises in Norwegian Lapland, and after passing through a vast extent of country, empties itself into the sea about twenty miles from this place. It is above half a mile broad between the island Elscar-Eue and the falls; but at the cataracts, its banks being much narrower, it runs with vast impetuosity. A small island, or rather rock, of half a quarter of a mile in circumference, divides the river at the place. In the winter, when one of the cataracts is frozen over,

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the iſland is acceſſible; but at this time it would be impoſſible to reach it alive. The eye takes in both falls at once from either bank. The depth of each is about forty feet; but one is abrupt and perpendicular, the other oblique and ſhelving. As nearly as I can judge by my eye, the breadth is not, in either, leſs than eighty or ninety yards. The tremendous roar of theſe cataracts, which, when cloſe, is ſuperior far to the loudeſt thunder; the vapour which riſes inceſſantly from them, and even obſcures them from the eye in many parts; the agitation of the river below, for ſeveral hundred yards before it reſumes its former tranquillity; and the ſides covered with tall firs, which ſeem like ſilent and aſtoniſhed ſpectators of it; form one of the moſt pictureſque and aſtoniſhing ſcenes to be beheld in nature's volume. It was only nine days before our arrival, that ſix unhappy fiſhermen were carried down by the rapidity of the current, and forced over the precipice, where they all periſhed. Four of their bodies were found, but ſo disfigured and torn by the water, that they could not be known, and many ſimilar accidents have happened.

After having viewed the cataracts, I drove about three miles along the banks of the river, to ſee the intrenchments made by the Ruſſians, when they landed in 1719, and burnt the country on every ſide. Here I alighted from my carriage, and as this ſpot is the boundary of my journey to the north, and the neareſt approach I ſhall probably ever make to the pole, I could not help leaving ſome memento of my wanderings, by engraving, with a pen-knife, on the bark of a tall aſpen, the name of my miſtreſs, and the year when I viſited theſe inclement kingdoms. At this iſland,

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I was only about two hundred miles from Umea Lapland, and I could ſcarcely entertain a wiſh to proceed farther in this direction, where nature begins to be diveſted of every captivating charm, and man himſelf to dwindle from the rigours of the climate.

Turning our faces, therefore, towards the ſouth, in our way to Upſal, we arrived at Soderfors, which is twenty miles diſtant from Elfcar-Eue, about ten o'clock, Friday morning, June 9th. The road lies along the ſides of the Dahl, on which the village itſelf is ſituated. After ſtaying to view the forges for anchors at this place, we proceeded to Upſal, and arrived there early in the evening. I intended to devote the following day to the ſurvey of the colleges, public buildings, curioſities, paintings, and all thoſe exhibitions of art and learning uſually found in ſeminaries of knowledge and ſtudy. The Swedes had inſpired me with ſuch exalted ideas of this univerſity, that I was only fearful leſt a ſingle day might be far inadequate to ſuch an undertaking, and wiſhed to have ſpent a longer time in ſo agreeable an occupation. I was, however, moſt completely undeceived; for Upſal has hardly one inducement to draw a man of taſte to viſit it, unleſs from being the reſidence of Linnæus. This Lyceum of the north has not one piece of painting within its walls, and only two of ſculpture, which are buſts of Guſtavus Adolphus and Charles XI. A gentleman, who reſides here, did us the honour to be our ciceroni, and to conduct us over the place. I enquired of him how many colleges there were, and which was the moſt celebrated. "Sir," ſaid he, "we have three; but I cannot ſay that any one of them deſerves your notice

notice. The principal objects of attention are, the library, the cathedral, and the botanical garden. I know not of any thing elſe." The firſt of theſe is a neat good building, and contains a cabinet, in which are a number of little trinkets, rather than rarities, preſerved with great care. Among theſe, is the identical bag which Judas kept, one of the thirty pieces of ſilver money, which he received for his perfidy in delivering up his maſter, and a pair of red ſlippers, in which the Virgin Mary paid a viſit to her couſin Elizabeth. I muſt do the man the juſtice to ſay, that he bluſhed as he ſhewed them to me; and I could not help telling him, that I thought the univerſity would not do amiſs to ſend theſe precious relics to St. Januarius, or to my lady of Loretto, who might probably be highly obliged by ſo valuable an acceſſion.

The cathedral is built of brick; and as the two towers at the weſt end lately wanted repair, they have, with great taſte, added a Doric architrave to theſe Gothic walls, and placed two great domes of copper on the top. It muſt, notwithſtanding the meanneſs of its materials, be for ever venerable, while the remains of Guſtavus Vaſa, and Chancellor Oxenſtiern repoſe in it. The laſt of theſe great men, whoſe virtue and wiſdom Sweden yet reveres, reſts in an obſcure chapel, beneath a common ſtone. He has no monument erected, or epitaph inſcribed to his memory; while a St. Eric, who was a king and a devotee in ſome barbarous age, is preſerved in a ſhrine of ſilver gilt, and placed on the right hand of the high altar.

There were at this time near one thouſand five hundred ſtudents in the univerſity of Upſal. They

They are not, however, young men of family and condition, as with us, but for the moſt part are miſerably poor, and lodge five or ſix together, in wretched hovels, amid dirt and penury. The profeſſors in different branches of literature are about twenty-two, the moſt ample of whoſe ſalaries does not exceed one hundred and thirty, or one hundred and forty, pounds per annum, and are, in general, not half that ſum.

On our firſt arrival, the gentleman who accompanied me, and who was intimately acquainted with Linnæus, ſent his compliments to ſay, that he would do himſelf the honour to wait on him, if agreeable, immediately, and would introduce at the ſame time, an Engliſh gentleman, who had been induced to viſit Upſal from the fame of ſo great a man. He ſent us word, in return, that he would pay us a viſit in the afternoon, at three o'clock, after his dinner. He came punctually at the hour marked, and after ſtaying ſome time, conducted us to the botanical garden, where he ſhewed us his collection of plants, ſhrubs, and flowers, which are very numerous, and have been preſented to him from every part of the globe. At the door he took his leave and quitted us. This celebrated botaniſt was in the ſixty-ninth year of his age. He is of a middle ſize, inclining to ſhort, which is ſtill increaſed by his ſtooping prodigiouſly when he walks.

He was dreſſed in a plain blue ſuit of clothes, and booted, as is common with the Swedes. At his button hole hung the white croſs, of the order of the polar ſtar, which was conferred on him by the late king Adolphus, who admired and honoured him. He enjoys a very eaſy independence from his ſalary, and pupils in the univerſity; beſides

beſides which, he is ſaid to be poſſeſſed of a conſiderable fortune acquired by his profeſſion. He has a country houſe about five miles out of town, and keeps his chariot. He has one ſon and four daughters alive; but I do not find they poſſeſs any of their father's genius; though his ſon is botanical profeſſor.

Linnæus has been in England, France, and Germany, but ſpeaks no languages except the Latin and Swediſh; in the former of which he converſes with perfect facility. His knowledge, I am aſſured, is by no means univerſal, but confined almoſt abſolutely to natural hiſtory, in which it is unbounded. His faculties are as yet unimpaired, except his memory, which begins to ſuffer ſome diminution.

The remark, that a prophet has no honour in his own country, is very much verified in Linnæus; and I found thoſe perſons, who were intimately converſant with his life and actions, more inclined to dwell on his perſonal imperfections, his foibles, and his weakneſſes, than to expatiate on his aſtoniſhing talents and extended fame. Thus it always is, where we view the object at too inconſiderable a diſtance, and through the medium of thoſe littleneſſes which are inſeparable from humanity. Well might the witty Rochefoucault aſſert, that "Admiration and acquaintance are incompatible." Time only can hold up to view pre-eminent merit, and aſſign it the due rank in the temple of fame.

Upſal was anciently the chief reſidence of the kings of Sweden, and is much older than the preſent metropolis. It is ſituated in a vaſt plain, open on all ſides, and at preſent covered with grain. The houſes are moſtly of wood, nor is there

there one public or private edifice of ſtone in the city. We left it Sunday morning the 12th, and returned to Stockholm the ſame evening.

In this journey of near ten days, I had almoſt made the complete tour of the province of Upland. The country is chiefly a horrid deſert, covered with ſhapeleſs ſtones, or with impenetrable woods, incapable of cultivation, and devoid of inhabitants. The quantity of land employed in tillage does not bear the proportion of one to twenty. Nature has, however, made them, in ſome degree, amends for this parſimony, by enriching theſe barren waſtes with inexhauſtible mines of copper, iron, and ſilver. The peaſants are chiefly employed in the manufacture of theſe metals; and I viſited ſix or ſeven forges on my journey, each of which conſtantly employs from four to fourteen hundred workmen in iron only. No Cyclops were ever more dexterous in working their materials. I have ſeen them ſtand cloſe to, and hammer, in their coarſe frocks of linen, a bar of ore, the heat and refulgence of which were almoſt inſupportable to me at ten feet diſtance, and with the ſparks of which they are covered from head to foot. I had the pleaſure of viewing the whole proceſs uſed to reduce the ore into iron, and muſt own it is very curious and intereſting. They firſt roaſt it in the open air for a conſiderable time, after which it is thrown into a furnace, and when reduced to fuſion, is poured into a mould of ſand, about three yards in length. Theſe pigs, as they are then denominated, are next put into a forge, heated to a prodigious degree; they break off a large piece with pinchers, when red hot, and this is beat to a leſſer ſize with hammers. It is put again into the

fire, and from thence entirely finiſhed, by being laid under an immenſe engine reſembling a hammer, which is turned by water, and flattens the rude piece into a bar.

Nothing can exceed the dexterity of the men who conduct this concluding part of the operation, as the eye is their ſole guide, and it requires an exquiſite nicety and preciſion. It is certainly a moſt happy circumſtance that Sweden abounds with theſe employments for her peaſants, as, from the ungrateful ſoil and inclement latitude, they muſt otherwiſe be obnoxious to extreme want and miſery.

Through the whole country are lakes, and and pieces of inland water, on the banks of which their palaces and villas are uſually built. The hoſpitality I met with in this tour was unbounded. It would even be reſented, if a ſtranger viſited a forge without paying his compliments to the owner, who expects that mark of his attention and reſpect. This cuſtom plainly ſhews how few perſons travel in theſe parts of Europe: if they were numerous, it would be quickly laid aſide, or at leaſt reſtrained within narrower limits. I cannot ſay as much in praiſe of the Swediſh refinement or elegance, as of their benevolence and civility. There is a profuſion of diſhes at their entertainments, but no taſte in the arrangement of them. The table groans beneath a number of covers, which are all brought in at once, and then left to cool during a ceremonious meal of at leaſt two hours. But the prologue to this entertainment is even worſe. Before they ſit down to dinner, the company take bread and butter, which they waſh down with a glaſs of brandy, and this horrid faſhion prevails not only among perſons of con-

dition, but extends even to the ladies as well as the men. I muſt own I cannot reconcile myſelf to a cuſtom, which, though it doubtleſs originated from the extreme coldneſs of the climate, is only worthy the Muſcovites before the reign of their reformer Peter.

A military ſpectacle detained me, at Stockholm, a day longer than I had intended. The ſcene lay in a large peak, about an Engliſh mile without the gates of the city, where the camp had been pitched ſome weeks, and which is finely adapted for a martial entertainment, from the nature of the ground, which is irregular and full of declivities: the riſing parts of it are covered with ſmall woods of fir, and it is divided by a branch of the Meler Lake, over which is a floating bridge. The king of Sweden commanded about two regiments, moſtly infantry; his youngeſt brother, Prince Frederic, had under him near one thouſand troops, horſe and foot. They were entirely ignorant of each others motions; his majeſty only endeavouring to ſurround the inferior army, and the prince exerting his endeavours to effect a ſecure retreat. The queen dowager, with her daughter, the Princeſs of Sweden, were preſent in a little open chaiſe, which permitted them to follow the ſoldiery over the field, and be preſent every where. The king, dreſſed in his uniform, was mounted on a cream-coloured horſe, and appeared as much animated and intereſted in this eſſay of arms as he could have been on a day of action. It was about five in the evening when it began. I cannot pretend to purſue the two generals through the different evolutions which paſſed in too rapid a ſucceſſion, and were of too intricate a nature to admit of a minute deſcription.

tion. The result was, however, favourable to the king; his brother having neglected to seize on a post which might have commanded a retreat, in case of emergency, found his error too late; and when he would have availed himself of this passage, discovered that his rival's troops were already in possession of it, having crossed the river in boats for that purpose. After having endeavoured, in vain, to force them from this post, he formed his infantry into a hollow square, and maintained a brisk fire, on all sides, for a considerable time; but finding himself environed by a much superior body of forces, and no possibility of escape, he delivered up his sword to the king, and his soldiers became prisoners of war. His cavalry had, however, seized on a small, but most advantageous, spot, and, unterrified by the fate of their companions, refused to surrender, and demanded permission to march off the ground with all military honours. Their fate was not yet decided when I quitted the place, at eleven o'clock at night. It was a very elegant and gallant diversion, finely designed to cultivate and practice the operations of a campaign, and keep alive the knowledge of war, even amid the most profound peace.

I left Stockholm at four o'clock the ensuing morning, June 17th, and reached Grisselhamn, on the western shore of the Gulph of Bothnia, about eleven at night. I engaged a boat to carry me over to the isle of Aland: the weather was remarkably serene and pleasant, and the little breeze which played was favourable. I, therefore, lost no time; but putting my carriage into the boat, I took my seat in it, and wrapping myself up, fell asleep. When I awoke in the morn-

ing, we had performed more than two-thirds of the paſſage, which is forty-five Engliſh miles, and about noon I landed at Frebbenby, on the iſle of Aland. My road to Finland lay entirely through it.

While I ſtopped to change horſes at a little village, called Haroldſby, the bailiff, or governor, paſſed me, and knowing I muſt be a ſtranger, very politely accoſted me. I was glad to have ſuch an opportunity of gaining a little information relative to the iſland. He ſaid, it was about one hundred and eighty miles in circumference, and contained between five and ſix thouſand inhabitants; that they paid no pecuniary taxes, but were only obliged to furniſh a certain number of men for the defence of the kingdom; and that vaſſalage was perfectly unknown. "There is no town," continued he, "upon the iſland, and the peaſants have always remonſtrated againſt the founding any, as the Swediſh government have repeatedly intended. My reſidence is at Caſtleholm, about three miles from hence, and cloſe to which you muſt paſs. It is an ancient fortreſs, built by the viceroy who founded Stockholm, and repaired by our celebrated Chriſtina. It contains, at preſent, little worthy a traveller's attention. There is, indeed, a room where the unhappy King Eric XIV. was confined. I have had the curioſity ſome few years ago to viſit it; but the acceſs is, at this time, ſo ruinous, and even dangerous, that I cannot adviſe you to attempt it."

I returned him thanks for his advice, though I was fully determined to act in oppoſition to it; and having bid him adieu, purſued my journey. I arrived in half an hour at the caſtle; it ſtands

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in a beautiful ſituation, on the banks of a river, and commanding an extenſive view on every ſide. It was with ſome difficulty that the paſſage to the chamber, where the king had been impriſoned, could be diſcovered; and it was with ſtill greater difficulty I could enter it, when found. I crawled upon my hands and knees under an arch, the ſtones of which having fallen down in a courſe of years, had almoſt filled up the way; and after paſſing this narrow entrance, I had two ladders to mount, which did not appear capable of bearing much preſſure. I followed, however, where my guide led the way, and entered the apartment through a trap-door.

I was ſtruck with compaſſion and horror to think, that a ſovereign had been the tenant of ſuch a dungeon, which is too miſerable for the worſt malefactor. It is compoſed of ſtone, and vaulted overhead: I meaſured it by my paces; it was about twenty-three feet long, and twelve broad. The light is admitted by a narrow window, through a wall five feet in thickneſs. In one corner is a little fire-place, and in the other a cupboard hollowed in the wall. The flooring is of brick, and, as the guide pretended to ſhew me, is worn away in thoſe places where the king was uſed to walk.

It ſeems Eric was the eldeſt ſon of Guſtavus Vaſa, and ſucceeded his father in 1560. His name appears among the liſt of our Elizabeth's ſuitors, but he appears to have been ill formed by nature for ſucceſs in gallantry. He was immoderately addicted to the ſtudy of aſtrology, a weakneſs not confined to him alone, but which characterized the age in which he lived. He was depoſed in 1568, by his brother John III. and

after being removed to different priſons, he ended his days at Gripſholm, in Sweden, though whether by a violent, or a natural, death, is more a matter of ſpeculation and ſuſpicion, than of certainty or fact. Every nation ſeems to have had its Eric. The Wenceſlaus of the empire, the Peter III. of Ruſſia, the Alphonſo VI. of Portugal, and the Henry IV. of Caſtile, are only the ſame ſad ſtory differently told, and varying in minute circumſtances. The Engliſh have had many Erics: our annals are more ſtained with royal blood, than any others of Europe. One hardly paſſes the ruin of a caſtle, where ſome of our princes have not, at different periods, been confined.

Having gratified my curioſity, I left Caſtleholm, and continuing my journey, arrived at the termination of the iſland as the ſun ſet. It was my intention to have gone on to Finland by the poſt route, through ſeveral ſmall iſlands, or rocks, between which there are conſtantly boats provided to convey travellers. Juſt as I was on the point of carrying this deſign into execution, ſome country people came, and propoſed to convey me from thence ſtraight to Abo. They ſaid, the diſtance was only about one hundred and twenty Engliſh miles; that the wind was very fair; that they had often made the paſſage in twelve or fourteen hours, and doubted not to do the ſame now; that I needed not loſe a moment, as their little veſſel was in readineſs, and only waited my orders. I did not heſitate long, but complied with the offer, and left Aland about midnight on the 18th. I ſlept, as I had done the preceding night, in my carriage, and at ſeven in the morning found myſelf in a narrow paſſage, ſurrounded by high rocks,

rocks, and the people employed in rowing. I made no queſtion that we were already in the river of Abo; but was not a little chagrined to find, on enquiry, that the wind had fallen away, that we were hardly thirty miles from the place we had quitted. They added, that the whole way was through ſimilar channels; that ſeveral of the iſlands by which I ſailed were inhabited; and that if I pleaſed, they would land me on one of them for refreſhment. To this I gladly conſented, and about nine o'clock I went aſhore on one called Lappo. I walked to a little hamlet at a mile diſtance from the ſhore: the poor peaſants very cheerfully brought me ſome cream, and aſſiſted in boiling my coffee. Nothing could exceed their poverty; a little black bread, fiſh, pork, and a ſort of mixture, they called beer, conſtituting all their ſuſtenance. After having made a very comfortable breakfaſt, on this almoſt unknown and ſequeſtered iſland, I returned again to the boat.

During the whole day we purſued our voyage through a labyrinth of ſmall rocks and iſles, many of them covered with firs and aſpens; ſome few green and beautiful, but far the greater number barren and rugged. Many of the proſpects were, however, wondrouſly pictureſque and romantic, and I frequently ſtopped the boatmen, for a minute, to gaze upon the extraordinary ſcene around me. Sometimes we went through channels of only twenty or thirty feet in breadth; ſometimes the water opened into a conſiderable expanſe, and often there appeared to be no avenue on any ſide. I was aſtoniſhed how they ſo exactly ſteer their courſe in this intricate and perplexing maze, through which nothing beſides long experience

rience could have conducted them. We were about forty miles from Abo when the ſun went down, and I was once more obliged to ſleep in my carriage: we entered the river early on the morning of the 20th, and about eight o'clock I finiſhed my voyage.

There is not any thing in Abo which entertained me in the ſurvey, or can amuſe by the deſcription. It is a wretched capital of a barren province. The houſes are almoſt all of wood, and the archiepiſcopal palace is compoſed of no better materials; but, by way of diſtinction, it is painted red. I enquired if there was any thing in the univerſity to merit attention; but they aſſured me, it would be regarded as a piece of ridicule to viſit it on ſuch an errand, there being nothing within its walls, except a very ſmall library, and a few philoſophical inſtruments.

I waited on the governor ſoon after my arrival; he procured me horſes on the road from hence to Helſingfors, the firſt town in my way to St. Peterſburgh, and which is one hundred and twenty miles diſtant. As the weather, during the day, was now very hot, I delayed my departure till the evening. At this time there was a great annual fair at Abo; and I amuſed myſelf, in the afternoon, in looking from the window of my apartment, at a crowd of three or four thouſand Finland peaſants, who were collected together, and formed a curious *coup d'œil* in their country dreſſes.

Finland is not ſo ſteril or uncultivated as I had been taught to expect. I ſaw no part of Sweden, except Eaſt Gothland, which is ſo free from thoſe vaſt rocks which Nature, in her wrath, ſeems to have ſcattered over theſe kingdoms; nor any, where the ſoil is apparently more fertile, or the country

country better peopled. The peaſants ſpeak a jargon equally unintelligible to a Swede or a Ruſſian; but, in the towns, the former language is generally uſed, or underſtood. I ſtaid at Helſingfors a day, more to recover my paſt fatigue, than from the deſire of ſeeing an immenſe fortreſs, built as a barrier againſt the Ruſſians, and in which there was a garriſon of eight thouſand men. It is not yet entirely completed; but as more than two-thirds of the ſoldiery are conſtantly at work on the fortifications, it is to be preſumed, it will be in full readineſs for the next rupture between theſe rival nations.

I ſlept at the city of Borgo on the 24th, and at ten the enſuing evening I arrived at the confines of the Swediſh monarchy. The river Kymen divides the empire of Ruſſia from the dominions of Sweden: acroſs it is a wooden bridge, one half of which is conſtantly repaired by the one, and the other half by the other, nation. I underwent a very minute ſearch, from the guards on either ſide, before I was permitted to proceed.

At about a league beyond this boundary, my carriage broke down in a deep wood, more than two Engliſh miles from any habitation: it was about four in the morning when the accident happened; I left the poſtillion to guard the chaiſe, and walked on with my ſervant to the next Ruſſian hamlet. We addreſſed ourſelves to the firſt peaſant we met, who happened to be a Swede by birth. After much entreaty, I prevailed on him to furniſh me with a wheel from his own little charette. I thought myſelf very happy to procure this temporary aid, and by the help of it I arrived at Fredericſhamn the ſame evening.

Here

Here every thing announced a different people from thoſe I had juſt quitted. The features, the complexion, the manners, the dreſs of the inhabitants were all Muſcovite. A thouſand leagues could not have made a more ſtriking alteration than a few miles had done; and plainly evinces how ſtrongly the character of the individuals which compoſe ſociety is tinged and formed by the government, policy, and religion of the nation.

The plan of Fredericſhamn is one of the moſt elegant I have ever ſeen; all the ſtreets going off like radii from a centre, in which is a handſome hotel de ville. The unaffected politeneſs and hoſpitality with which I was received by General Seſtikoff, to whom, as governor of the city I paid my compliments on my arrival, detained me here a day. He introduced me to the prince of Iſſembourg, a German, in the empreſs of Ruſſia's ſervice. The prince gave me the ſubſequent account of this country. "Theſe provinces were, as you know," ſaid he, "conquered from Frederic, king of Sweden, by the late empreſs Elizabeth. On the ceſſion of them to her, and the evacuation of the Swedes, the beſt eſtates were bought by peaſants, prieſts, and mechanics for the mereſt trifles; but the whole track is ſteril, uncultivated, and unpeopled. I have myſelf purchaſed above forty Engliſh miles of land ſince my arrival for only two thouſand rubles *." I recollected the prince's words as I drove from Fredericſhamn to Wybourg, the whole intermediate country being the moſt ſavage, rocky, and inhoſpitable deſert that can be conceived: from the

* About four hundred pound ſterling.

gates

gates of one to the entrance of the other, I ſaw ſcarce any other ſigns of population than at the little hamlets where I ſtopped to change horſes; yet has this frontier of the Swediſh and Ruſſian territory been as obſtinately diſputed, and cauſed the effuſion of as much blood, as the moſt plentiful and happy regions of the earth; a convincing proof that ambition rather than intereſt is the frequent ſource of war.

I have ſeen no place ſince Stockholm, where there ſeems ſo much the face of induſtry and commerce as at Wybourg. It is a fortified city, and during the wars between Charles and Peter, when it belonged to the former of thoſe princes, was reputed ſtrong, the Ruſſians having been more than once forced to raiſe the ſiege; but at preſent the fortifications are very ruinous.

On the 29th of June, I left Wybourg, and reached Peterſburgh, diſtant one hundred and ten Engliſh miles, without any thing remarkable. This great capital, though only a creation of the preſent century, has already grown to a vaſt ſize, and contains infinitely higher matter of entertainment and inſtruction than either of thoſe from whence I lately came. I was ſtruck with a pleaſing aſtoniſhment, while I wandered among havens, ſtreets, and public buildings, which have riſen, as by enchantment, within the memory of men ſtill alive; and have converted the marſhy iſlands of the Neva into one of the moſt magnificent cities of the earth. The imagination, aided by ſo many viſible objects, riſes to the wondrous founder, and beholds in idea the tutelary genius of Peter, yet hovering over the child of his own production, and viewing with a parent's fondneſs its riſing palaces and temples. The names on which ancient

ancient ſtory dwells with ſo much fondneſs, ſink on a compariſon with this immortal man, and the fabulous legiſlators of Greece and Egypt never preſumed to attempt the mighty transformation which the czar completed. He metamorphoſed brutes into men; and in ſome meaſure triumphed over ſuperſtition, the ſtrong and almoſt impregnable hold of ignorance. I muſt own I never conſider this ſo recent and ſo wondrous an event, without being hurried away by an enthuſiaſm I cannot avoid feeling, and from which I now return, to give ſome imperfect deſcription of the feſtivities at which I had the honour of being preſent during my ſtay here.

I accompanied Sir Robert Gunning on the 9th of July, to the palace of Peterhoff, where the empreſs then reſided. It was the anniverſary of her acceſſion, when there is generally a very brilliant court. As we arrived early, I had an opportunity of viewing the gardens before her majeſty's appearance. They are very extenſive, lying along the ſhore of the gulph of Finland, and waſhed by its waters. In the midſt of them ſtands the palace itſelf, ſituate on an eminence, and commanding a fine view. It was begun by Peter I but has been enlarged and improved by his ſucceſſors. In the front is a canal of ſome hundred yards in length which joins the gulph, and from which three *jets d'eau* are ſupplied, which play conſtantly throughout the year. The apartments are all very ſplendid; but my attention was chiefly engaged by the drawing room, where hung five matchleſs portraits of the ſovereigns of Ruſſia. They are all full length pieces. Peter himſelf is the firſt, and oppoſite to him appears the humble Livonian female, whom he

he raiſed from a cottage to the moſt unbounded ſovereignty. She is drawn by the painter as in middle life; her eyes and hair black, her countenance open, ſmiling and ingratiating, and her perſon not exceeding the middle ſize. The empreſſes, Anne and Elizabeth, fill their reſpective places in this apartment; but did not long detain me from a portrait of the reigning ſovereign, which is of a ſingular kind. She is habited in the Ruſſian uniform, booted, and ſits aſtride on a white horſe. In her hat is the oaken bough, which ſhe wore at the memorable revolution which placed her on the throne, and which badge was likewiſe aſſumed by all her adherents. Her long hair floats in diſorder down her back; and the flushing in her face, the natural effect of the heat and fatigue ſhe had undergone, is finely expreſſed.

While my eyes were rivetted to this picture, and my thoughts employed on the melancholy cataſtrophe of the unhappy emperor which ſo ſoon followed, the empreſs's entrance was announced. She was preceded by a long train of lords and gentlemen.

I felt a pleaſure corrected with awe as I gazed on this extraordinary woman, whoſe vigour and policy, without any right of blood, has ſeated and maintains her on the throne of the czars. Though ſhe is now become rather corpulent, there is a dignity tempered with graciouſneſs in her deportment and manner, which ſtrikingly impreſſes. She was habited in a deep blue ſilk with gold ſtripes, and her hair ornamented with diamonds. After the foreign miniſters had paid her the cuſtomary compliments on this anniverſary, I had the honour to be preſented, and to kiſs her hand.

The grand duke and ducheſs of Ruſſia followed the empreſs, who continued ſcarce a minute in the circle, but ſat down at the card table.

I followed the crowd to the other end of the apartment, where a ſovereign of a different kind, and perhaps not leſs deſpotic or unlimited in her native empire, had drawn another circle of votaries by the magic of her voice; and received a homage from her perſonal accompliſhments, perhaps more flattering than that paid to greatneſs, becauſe more the offering of the heart. This was no other than Gabrieli, the ſinger: ſhe had juſt begun an air as I came up, and I liſtened in deep attention while it laſted. When ſhe had finiſhed, Count Rzewuſky, a young Poliſh nobleman, came up to me, and aſked me if I wiſhed to be introduced to her. I aſſured him, he could not confer a greater obligation on me. She roſe up with great politeneſs on the count's introducing me to her as an Engliſh gentleman who was lately arrived; and I did not loſe the opportunity to enter into a converſation with her.

She was perfectly free and unreſerved in her replies, to a number of little queſtions which I put to her. She ſaid, that though accuſtomed to the warmer climates of Italy and Sicily, her conſtitution was not impaired or injured by the ſeverity of that of Ruſſia; that the empreſs was a bounteous miſtreſs, and ſhe had no reaſon to be diſſatisfied with her preſent ſituation; but that, notwithſtanding, ſhe had a paſſionate deſire to viſit England, a journey ſhe had been many times on the point of executing, but had never yet accompliſhed. I aſſured her how happy the Engliſh nation would be to ſee among them a woman of ſuch pre-eminent merit, and how generous their patronage

patronage was to all the performers in the fine arts.

Our converſation was moſt agreeably interrupted, by her ſtanding up to ſing. I muſt own I never heard any voice ſo perfectly ſweet, melting, and abſolute in its command over the ſoul: nor can any thing exceed the negligent careleſsneſs, apparent in her whole manner, while employed in this occupation, as if ſhe deſpiſed the appearance of exertion or any labour to pleaſe.

She was at Milan when the empreſs engaged her to ſing in her court. The price ſhe demanded was ſeven thouſand roubles (or about one thouſand five hundred pound ſterling) a year, beſides a houſe and carriage; nor would ſhe relax the leaſt article of theſe conditions. They remonſtrated with her on the unreaſonableneſs of ſo enormous a ſalary, and to induce her to diminiſh it, informed her that a field marſhal had no more. "If that be the caſe," ſaid ſhe, "I would adviſe her majeſty to make one of her marſhals ſing." Her perſon, ſtrictly conſidered in itſelf, is by no means irreſiſtible; ſhe does not exceed, if ſhe reaches, the middle ſize; her features are ſmall, and her eyes blue; but her neck is exquiſitely white. Though her ſalary is ſo ample, it is only on peculiar occaſions and great feſtivals that ſhe uſually ſings.

The court broke up between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, and I returned to Peterſburgh; though I went down to Peterhoff the following day, when there were a maſquerade and illuminations in the gardens. The former of theſe was rather a *bal paré en domino*, as there were very few or no fancy dreſſes, nor was any character ſupported. Every perſon, without diſtinction,

is admitted on this occaſion, and there were not leſs than four or five thouſand perſons preſent. Her majeſty was dreſſed in a blue domino, and played at cards moſt of the night.

The illuminations in the gardens far ſurpaſſed any I ever ſaw in my life. Two prodigious arcades of fire extended in front of the palace: the canal, which reaches to the Gulph of Finland, was illuminated on both ſides, and the view terminated by a rock, lighted in the inſide, and which had a beautiful effect. From either ſide of the canal branched off long arched walks, illuminated; and beyond theſe, in the woods, were hung feſtoons of lamps differently coloured. All the jets d'eaux played. Artificial caſcades, where the water tumbled from one declivity to another, and under each of which lights were very artfully diſpoſed, amuſed and ſurpriſed the ſpectator at the ſame time. Beſides theſe, there were ſummer-houſes, pyramids, and temples of flame; and beyond all appeared the imperial yachts on the water, in the ſame brilliant and dazzling ornaments.

Nothing could be better calculated to produce that giddy and tumultuous feeling of mingled wonder and delight, which, though it ariſes neither from the underſtanding nor the heart, has yet a moſt powerful influence over both. The ſenſes are ſo much captivated with the powers of muſic, dancing, and wanton hours, together with the preſence of a multitude of both ſexes, habited in a dreſs which intentionally levels all diſtinction, that a heart muſt be uncommonly miſanthropical or unfeeling, which does not catch ſome ſpark of mirth and gallantry at ſuch an altar. This impreſſion, however, as it is violent, and produc-

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ed from temporary cauſes, ſoon ſubſides, and expires with the oil and the taper which gave it birth.

There is ſo little obſcurity at this ſeaſon of the year, for there is no darkneſs, that if the night had not been very opportunely cloudy, the illuminations could not have produced their full effect. This favourable circumſtance, however, ſuperadded to the black vapour which roſe from ſuch a multitude of lamps, and hung over the gardens, cauſed a degree of gloom, which, under the ſhelter of the woods, approached nearly to darkneſs from eleven till one in the morning; but before three, the envious day-light burſt in upon the ſplendor of this dazzling ſcene, which required the canopy of night to give it any luſtre. The lamps were expiring on every ſide; the company began to diſperſe; each moment diminiſhed the magic which had charmed erewhile, and the fugitive enchantment was paſſed. It was eight o'clock when I arrived in town, and the ſun began to grow already very warm. I threw myſelf on the bed, quite ſpent with the purſuit of pleaſure, and glad to retire to ſilence and reſt. Magnificent as this illumination was, I was aſſured that it had been ſurpaſſed on ſome very particular occaſions.

There is not only a grandeur and regal pomp in this court, which far exceeds any I have beheld elſewhere, but every thing is on a vaſt and coloſſal ſcale, reſembling that of the empire itſelf. The public buildings, churches, monaſteries, and private palaces of the nobility, are of an immenſe ſize, and ſeem as if deſigned for creatures of a ſuperior height and dimenſions to man.

At Moſcow, I was told, this magnificent ſtyle is yet more common and more univerſal. The

palace which the preſent empreſs has begun, is deſigned to be two or three Engliſh miles in circumference: and in the mean time they have erected a temporary one of brick, for her reception. The city itſelf is an immenſe collection of villages, and the Muſcovite lords commonly go fifty and ſixty verſts, which are at leaſt forty of our miles, to make viſits to each other. There is a ſort of ſavage and barbarous grandeur in this taſte, which never appears in the edifices and productions of Grecian ſculpture or architecture; but this may ariſe from the different extent of the two countries, as well as the genius of the people.

As the feſtivities were now finiſhed at court, I had time to viſit the principal objects of curioſity and entertainment in the city. My original intention of going to Moſcow, I at length, though very reluctantly, laid aſide, on account of the advancement of the ſeaſon; it being too long and diſagreeable a journey to undertake by land, through Livonia, Courland, Pruſſia, and Germany, after the 1ſt of September, when the autumnal rains make the roads in ſome of theſe countries almoſt impaſſable. The weather was now inſufferably hot, and far exceeded that which is ever experienced in England; but this was of ſhort duration.

The veneration of the Ruſſians for their hero and legiſlator, Peter, approaches, as may naturally be imagined, to idolatry, and increaſes as they recede from the time in which he perſonally flouriſhed. The impartial and diſcerning few, however, who can diveſt themſelves of prejudice, and view objects free from the blaze, which uſually dazzles and deludes the multitude, have regarded his character and conduct with different eyes, and

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even made thoſe actions, on which his fame is built, the ſubject of criticiſm, if not of cenſure. Fifty years, which have now nearly elapſed ſince his death, have withdrawn the veil in ſome degree from the political ſanctuary; and experienc- of the beneficial or pernicious nature of his regulations, has affixed to them the ſtamp of excellence or error. So imperfect and ſhort-ſighted is man, ſo limited the ſphere of human foreſight, that thoſe cauſes which ſeem at a firſt view replete with bleſſings, often contain a latent poiſon, which, when matured by time, can deſtroy theſe expected conſequences, and force us to condemn, on a retroſpect, that which we at firſt applauded.

There are only three grand points of light in which we can regard Peter: as the civilizer, the ſovereign, and the law-giver of his country: and there are perſons who aſſert, that he only ſucceeded partially even in the firſt of theſe, to the completion of which he ſacrificed the other two; or elſe he evidently miſtook them. This may ſurpriſe thoſe, who have been taught to regard Peter as one of the moſt perfect of ſovereigns—one of the moſt illuſtrious he certainly was. But he had his vices as well as his virtues; and many of his labours, in which the lives of thouſands of his ſubjects were loſt, might well have been either ſaved, or more advantageouſly applied in another direction.

This is now univerſally allowed by the reflecting; yet with all the abatements that can juſtly be made from the character of Peter, he ſtill will deſcend to admiring poſterity with diſtinguiſhed applauſe.

One of the nobleſt monuments of the gratitude and veneration univerſally paid to Peter I. is that

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which her preſent majeſty has ordered to be erected. It is an equeſtrian ſtatue, and has been ſome years under the hands of Monſieur Falconette. I was introduced to this great ſtatuary, and had the pleaſure to ſee the model, which is already completed. In this production he has united the greateſt ſimplicity with the trueſt ſublimity of conception. No other ſtatue, whether ancient or modern, gave him the deſign, which is ſingular in it's kind, and is admirably adapted to expreſs the character of the man, and the nation over which he reigned. Inſtead of a pedeſtal adorned with inſcriptions, or ſurrounded by ſlaves, he appears mounted on a rock or ſtone of a prodigious ſize, up the aſcent of which the horſe labours, and appears to have nearly reached its ſummit. This attitude has given him room to exert great anatomical beauty and ſkill in the muſcles of the horſe's hind thighs and hams, on which the whole weight of his body is neceſſarily ſuſtained. The czar's figure is full of fire and ſpirit: he ſits on a bear's ſkin, and is clad in a ſimple habit not characteriſtic of any particular country, but ſuch as may be worn, without violation of propriety, by an inhabitant of any. His eye is directed to ſome apparently diſtant object, deſigned to be the citadel, and on his features are moſt ſtrongly impreſſed the ſentiment of "deliberation and public care:" his left hand holds the bridle, and his right is extended, as the artiſt himſelf expreſſed it, *en pere & en maitre*—'like a father and ſovereign.' Under the figure on the rock is this inſcription: PETRO PRIMO, CATHERINA SECUNDA POSUIT, 177 .

Every thing is now in preparation to caſt the ſtatue itſelf, which will, when finiſhed, be perhaps

haps inconteſtibly the moſt matchleſs production of its kind in Europe*. Apart from his genius, as an artiſt, Falconette is a man of uncommon talents, erudition, and expanſion of ſentiment: he is a citizen of the world, and totally unfettered by the little mean diſtinctions of climate or of country, which diminiſh the benevolence of the heart, and ſet bounds to philanthropy. He is, however, ſaid to poſſeſs, in a high degree, that *ſoreneſs*, as Pope expreſſed it, that impatience of unmerited cenſure and little peeviſhneſs, which men of fine parts often diſcover, on account of the erroneous judgment which the multitude form of their abilities and execution. He paid many fine encomiums to the merit of our preſent painters in England, particularly to Sir Joſhua Reynolds, with whom, he ſaid, he maintained a conſtant correſpondence, and interchange of their reſpective compoſitions. "Count Hugolino in the dungeon," hung over his chimney-piece, which, he ſaid, the Chevalier Reynolds had lately preſented him, and the exquiſite expreſſion of which, he could not behold without mingled terror and admiration. I received peculiar pleaſure from the acquaintance of this gentleman, which he permitted me to cultivate during my ſtay here, and from which I derived no leſs honour than inſtruction. As he has paſt the middle ſtage of life, and has been a reſident in St. Peterſburgh near eight years, I could not help aſking him, at one of our interviews, whether he had not any deſign to return to France, his native

* Mr. Wraxall's original ideas of this ſtatue have been fully anſwered; it is worthy of the artiſt; of the hero for whom it was deſigned; and of the munificence of the empreſs, who cauſed it to be erected.

country,

country, particularly when a young prince, who ſeemed to open his reign with great applauſe, might employ him in ſome work ornamental to his kingdom? "Alas! Sir," ſaid he, "I have lived long enough to know, that every monarch, more eſpecially a youthful one, begins his career with honour and approbation, though time uſually crops theſe early and immature trophies*. For me, I have nothing, when I reviſit my native land, to aſk from it, beſides a few feet of earth to inter my remains, and that it cannot refuſe me."

I have often obſerved, that all men of ſuperior talents hold the ſame language, and, when the tumultuous ſeaſon of life is over, in which ambition or hope may have tendered them ideal bleſſings, and deluded their ſober judgments, they have not any other wiſh, than humble ſequeſtration.

Peterſburgh is as yet only an immenſe outline, which will require future ſovereigns, and almoſt future ages, to complete. It ſtands at preſent on a prodigious extent of ground; but as the houſes in many parts are not contiguous, and great ſpaces are left unbuilt, it is hard to aſcertain its real ſize and magnitude. Devotion has not been wanting to erect magnificent places of worſhip in almoſt every part. Curioſity and novelty carried me to all of them. The external architecture differs very little in any: the Greeks ſeem as fond of domes to their churches, as the Mahometans are of minarets to their moſques. They uſually encircle one large with four ſmaller cupolas, and cover them with copper gilt, which has a

* There ſeems ſomething prophetic in this ſentiment, as applied to the amiable, but unfortunate Louis XVI.

fine

fine effect to the eye, when illuminated by the rays of the ſun. The ornaments within are coſtly and barbarous: a Mexican temple can hardly be more ſo. They ſurround a daubing of the Virgin and Jeſus, with gold or ſilver head dreſſes, and ſometimes complete habits, and only leave expoſed the fingers, which the multitude very devoutly kiſs. Some of theſe ſtrange compound figures of paint and metal are very laughable, and the poor Madonna ſeems like a priſoner in golden fetters.

The papas, or prieſts, are dreſſed in veſtments which very much reſemble the Romiſh, and are generally compoſed of tiſſue and expenſive ſilks. The manner in which they perform the ſervice rather reminds one of an incantation, than of a prayer offered to the Deity; and they repeat great part of it ſo intolerably faſt, that one is tempted to ſuppoſe it impoſſible the auditory can underſtand one word the prieſt utters, let their attention be ever ſo ſtrong. St. Nicholas ſtill holds his rank and veneration in the Ruſſian calendar, and has almoſt as many altars as the Virgin herſelf.

In the church of the citadel repoſe the body of Peter I. and the ſucceſſive ſovereigns ſince his death, who are ranged in coffers ſide by ſide, but have not any of them marble monuments erected to their memories; nor is there any other motive to induce a traveller to enter this church, except the conſciouſneſs that he beholds the wood which contains the aſhes of Peter, and that mingled ſentiment of reverence and pleaſure which the mind may experience from ſuch a contemplation. Only one monarch is excluded, as if unworthy to be entombed with his progenitors and predeceſ-

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ſors on the throne of Ruſſia. This is the late unhappy Peter III. who, after his death, was expoſed during ſome days in the monaſtery of St. Alexander Newfskoi, a few miles out of town, to convince the people that he had not ſuffered any violence, but ended his life naturally: he was afterwards privately interred there *.

As I have mentioned his name, I am led to make a few remarks on his life and character. Though under the preſent reign it may be imagined, that few perſons either dare or chuſe to ſpeak their ſentiments freely in this reſpect, yet I am induced to believe, from univerſal teſtimony, that he was very unworthy and unfit to reign, and that whatever private condemnation the empreſs, as his wife, may undergo, it was a moſt ſalutary and requiſite policy for Ruſſia to depoſe him. He brought to St. Peterſburgh all the illiberal and pernicious prejudices of a German; he avowed his open contempt for their religion, their manners, their laws; he had perſonally ill-treated and injured his wife, and alienated by his imprudence and folly a great majority of his ſubjects and courtiers.

The vigour and celebrity with which the empreſs acted in effecting the revolution, could only be exceeded by the puſillanimity and meanneſs with which Peter reſigned the crown. He was himſelf on the day which preceded this event, at the palace of Oranienbaum, and totally unprepared for ſuch a change, of which he entertained no ſuſpicion. She departed from Peterhoff, where ſhe then was, by a poſtern door in the gardens, ve

* The remains have lately been gathered to thoſe of his predeceſſors, by the filial regard of the Emperor Paul I.

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early in the morning, under the conduct of Prince Orloff, and reached Peterſburgh before her abſence was known. She inſtantly took poſſeſſion of the palace without difficulty or oppoſition, and putting herſelf in an uniform at the head of the guards, marched towards Peterhoff.

As ſoon as the emperor received this intelligence, he embarked immediately from Oranienbaum, in one of the imperial yatchs, in hopes to reach Cronſtadt, which is nearly oppoſite, and in the fortreſs of which he would have been ſecure. Here, however, he was diſappointed, as the empreſs had already anticipated his intention, and diſpatched two admirals, who ſecured it. When he came near the fortreſs, they ordered him to keep off, or they would ſink him, and at the ſame time pointed the guns for that purpoſe, though it afterwards appeared they were not loaded. Beſides his miſtreſs, the Counteſs of Voronzoff, he had a number of women and attendants in the veſſel with him. Terrified with the appearance of oppoſition, they knelt around him, and rent the air with their cries, to induce him to relinquiſh his purpoſe. Yielding to his own fears, and their importunities, he had not the courage to attempt to land, but returned back to Oranienbaum. The old Felt-Mareſchal Count Munich, who had been newly recalled from his long exile in Siberia, was with him at this critical emergency, and gave him the only advice which could poſſibly have ſaved him. He implored him to go boldly and meet the empreſs, to charge the guards on their allegiance to obey his orders as their ſovereign, and offered to loſe his own life in his defence. Peter either had not ſufficient magnanimity and greatneſs of mind,

to perceive the abſolute neceſſity of this conduct, or to embrace it inſtantly. On the contrary, giving way to his terrors, he threw himſelf on the ground before the empreſs, in the gardens of Oranienbaum, and covering his face with both his hands, burſt into all the impotence of tears, and only implored, in terms of the moſt abject ſubmiſſion, that his life might be ſpared, and his paternal dominions of Holſtein aſſigned him.

She commanded him to riſe, and conducted him to the palace of Peterhoff, where he ſigned a paper, by which he abdicated his power, and conferred it on her. Meanwhile covered waggons were provided, which took different roads, that it might not be known in which was the depoſed prince; and this mighty revolution, which transferred the greateſt empire on earth, was effected in a few hours, almoſt without any confuſion or uproar. The people, accuſtomed to deſpotiſm, and almoſt indifferent who was the ruler, remained ſilent and quiet ſpectators of it; the guards being the only actors, and the whole a repetition of the princeſs Elizabeth's conduct ſome years before, when young Ivan was depoſed, and ſhe ſeized the throne.

Over the reſt of this mournful ſtory charity muſt draw a veil. Such a priſoner it is natural to ſuppoſe could not long remain in that condition. On the ninth day, ſubſequent to his ſeizure, it was reported he had a diſorder in his bowels, and ſoon after his death was announced. We know no more. Hiſtory, in ſome future period, may poſſibly elucidate the circumſtances of his end. That it was tragical cannot be doubted *.

* The late king of Sweden, in no ambiguous terms, has recorded the death of Peter III.

The

The public buildings of different kinds are ſo prodigiouſly numerous in this city, that I am inclined to believe they conſtitute a fifth or ſixth part of the whole capital. Some of them are of ſtone, but the larger part are only brick, or wood plaiſtered. The winter-palace is compoſed of the former materials, and was erected by the late empreſs Elizabeth: it is very large and heavy, in the ſtyle of its architecture. The ſituation is very lovely, on the banks of the Neva, and in the centre of the town. Contiguous to it is a ſmall palace, built by the preſent empreſs, and called, though not very appropriately, The Hermitage. It no more reſembles our idea of a hermitage than it does a temple; but when her majeſty reſides in this part of the building ſhe is in retreat, and there is no drawing-room or court. I was admitted to ſee theſe apartments, which are very elegant, and furniſhed with great taſte. There are two galleries of paintings, which have been lately purchaſed at an immenſe expence in Italy. The crown, which I ſaw in the palace itſelf, is perhaps the richeſt in Europe. It is ſhaped like a bonnet, and totally covered with diamonds. In the ſceptre is the celebrated one, purchaſed by Prince Orloff for five hundred thouſand rubles *, and preſented by him to his ſovereign miſtreſs only a few months ago. It far exceeds Pitt's diamond in ſize; and is reckoned not inferior in water. Lapidaries declare it the moſt beautiful and rare jewel ever brought from Golconda.

There are two academies here, one of arts and the other of ſciences, both of which I repeatedly viſited. The preſent empreſs has founded the

* A coin value about four ſhillings and ſixpence Engliſh.

firſt, which will be, when finiſhed, a ſuperb edifice: it is furniſhed with maſters in the different branches of polite letters, and filled with caſts from the moſt celebrated models of Greek and Roman ſculpture. I do not, however, find that as yet any eminent geniuſſes have appeared, though they have not been quite deſtitute of artiſts. Nature indeed ſeems to have confined perfection in theſe elegant and exquiſite productions, to certain climates and people, among whom they have ſprung ſpontaneous for centuries; and which are only imperfectly copied where the ſeeds of taſte are not ſo happily ſcattered, or the organs ſo juſtly adapted to receive them.

I was more charmed with the river Neva itſelf, than with any other object here. The Thames is not comparable to it in beauty; and as the ſtream ſets conſtantly out of the Lake Ladoga into the Gulph of Finland, it is always full, clear, and perfectly clean. Along its banks is unqueſtionably the fineſt walk in the world. It is not a quay, as veſſels never aſcend to this part, but a parade, running to a vaſt length; the buildings on which are hardly to be exceeded in elegance. Over the river, in the narroweſt part, is a bridge on pontoons. From this noble river, canals are cut to all parts of the city; nor could any ſituation be more favourable to the genius of commerce, if the inclemency of the climate did not keep it frozen up at leaſt five months annually.

As this place is the formation of late years, it is laid out with great regularity: there is not any thing which looks old, though much is ſtill imperfect and unfiniſhed. The buildings have throughout a very handſome appearance, and are, like every thing elſe, on a coloſſal ſcale. The

ſtreets

ſtreets are moſtly paved; but in ſeveral places this is done with timber: a practice ſtill more prevalent in Moſcow, where, in the frequent fires they uſed to have, the ſtreet itſelf caught the flames, and the conflagration became terrible, as the houſes likewiſe are moſtly of wood.

The police of Peterſburgh is very good, and one may walk with great ſafety at any hour. Now and then a murder happens; but this is by no means frequent.

In the ſummer ſeaſon, when the court are out of town, there are ſcarcely any public ſpectacles, except at the imperial palace, where a Ruſſian and French comedy are performed generally once a week. The ſeats are adjuſted by rank, and no money is paid for entrance, as it is the empreſs's own amuſement, and limited to people of condition. For my own part, I found a much ſuperior entertainment in walking every evening, till eleven or midnight, on the banks of the Neva, or in the Summer Gardens, which likewiſe belong to the crown, and are always open to the people. They are ſituated at one end of the walk I mentioned, and are full of ſtatues, jets d'eaux, and fountains elegantly diſpoſed.

The aboriginal Ruſſians, whoſe habits have not been refined by a commerce with other nations, evidently partake much more of Aſiatic than of European manners: the men among the lower claſs univerſally wear the beard, in defiance of all the rigorous edicts iſſued by Peter I. to aboliſh this barbarous cuſtom. The women in general only bind their heads with pieces of ſilk or linen, very nearly reſembling in appearance the eaſtern turban, but accommodate the other parts of their dreſs pretty nearly to ours. Many of them, how-

ever, are to be ſeen in the old Muſcovite habits of the different provinces, which are curious and groteſque in the higheſt degree. In ſome the head-dreſs projects ſix or eight inches from the forehead, and is enriched with pearls; in others it is a ſort of bonnet laced, and ſitting cloſe round the head; nor is the reſt of their attire leſs ſingular.

One of their cuſtoms, at which I was a ſpectator, not a little ſurpriſed me. It was a promiſcuous bathing of not leſs than two hundred perſons of both ſexes. There are ſeveral of theſe public bagnios in Peterſburgh, and every one pays a few copiques (value a halfpenny Engliſh each) for admittance. There are, indeed, ſeparate ſpaces for the men and women; but they ſeem quite regardleſs of this diſtinction, and ſit or bathe in a ſtate of abſolute nudity among each other. What is equally extraordinary, they go firſt into a room heated to ſo intenſe a degree, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to breath in it; and after having remained there till their bodies are in the moſt violent perſpiration, they inſtantly either plunge into the cold water of the Neva, or elſe throw a quantity of it over them from little buckets, with which they are all provided for that purpoſe. This may only harden a Ruſſian conſtitution, but, I believe, would be found often fatal to an Engliſh one. The greater part of the women were the moſt hideous figures I ever beheld, and reminded me of Horace's Canidia, for whom they were very proper companions. I counted half a dozen young girls who appeared tolerably pretty, and they never could have been viewed to more advantage than near ſuch foils. As a ſtudier of nature, I confeſs this is as proper a ſchool

ſchool as can be imagined, ſince fancy can hardly figure an attitude which may not be found here; but as a voluptuary, a ſingle viſit is more than ſufficient.

I cannot ſay much in praiſe of the charms which the ladies diſcover; indeed, I am told, the ſtyle of lovelineſs here is not a little different from ours, and that, to poſſeſs any pre-eminent degree of it, a woman muſt weigh at leaſt two hundred weight. Prior's criterion will not do here, and they would laugh at his "Fine by degrees, and beautifully leſs," as a falſe and vitiated taſte. The late empreſs Elizabeth was one of theſe ponderous and maſſy beauties; and ſuch ſhe appears in the portraits I have ſeen of her.

The climate prodigiouſly altered within the week following the middle of July. All the violence of the heat was paſt, and expected to return no more for the ſeaſon. They have no fruits here, except ſtrawberries and raſberries: wall-fruit is almoſt unknown, and muſt neceſſarily be ſo in ſuch a climate. They have, however, as I am aſſured, excellent melons, pomegranates, and pines, brought to Peterſburgh from Aſtracan in twenty-one days, which is not a leſs diſtance than fifteen hundred miles, acroſs all Muſcovy *. Indeed, when one reflects on the immenſe magnitude of this empire, one is loſt in the idea. They count five thouſand miles from hence to Kamtſchatka, the eaſtern but uncertain termination of their dominion; and north, it runs "to Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where." In this are reckoned, I think, ſix ſeparate king-

* See Hanway's Travels through Perſia, Vol. XIII.

doms,

doms, the diſtinct crowns of which are all to be ſeen at Moſcow. The ſoil, climate, and produce, muſt be infinitely different in ſo extenſive a domain. The Ukraine is repreſented to be one of the moſt fertile and delicious provinces of the earth, and the moſt deſirable of any in the Ruſſian empire. The country round this capital is a moraſs overgrown with birch and fir, nor is there a hill within ſeveral miles. The houſes of Peterſburgh are all built on piles, as thoſe of Amſterdam, which often ſtrikingly remind one of Holland.

Among the public inſtitutions, I was carried to ſee one, which can hardly be exceeded in utility by any in Europe, and is worthy of the preſent empreſs, who may be deemed its foundreſs. Elizabeth, her predeceſſor, erected it, and deſigned it for a nunnery. It ſtands juſt out of town, and is a moſt princely and magnificent building, though like every thing elſe, not yet completed. Her preſent majeſty, who has preferred wiſdom to ſuperſtition, converted it into a public place of education, where young women of all conditions are completely inſtructed in every neceſſary and elegant accompliſhment, at the ſole expence of the crown. Thoſe of noble families are kept quite diſtinct from the inferior children. Upwards of two hundred and thirty of the former, and double that number of the latter, are provided for in this admirable ſeminary.

Some branches of the police appeared to me ſingular, though I muſt allow they are productive of ſalutary conſequences. I was a little indiſpoſed ſoon after my arrival, and ſent my ſervant to purchaſe ſome magneſia in the ſhops. He brought me word that no apothecary would ſell him any; and

and that three or four of them had aſſured him they dared not part with a dram, if a hundred ducats were offered for it, unleſs a regular preſcription was brought them, ſigned by a phyſician, as the puniſhment is very ſevere for their violating this regulation. Eſculapius could not have made a law more beneficial to the faculty; but it prevents empirics from deſtroying numbers, as they do with impunity among us, and renders it very eaſy to diſcover poiſons, by tracing to its ſource the vender of them.

Another regulation here, though not without its advantages likewiſe, is very troubleſome. No ſtranger can quit the capital, to paſs the frontiers, without having been firſt advertiſed in all the public papers for ten days preceding his departure, though his buſineſs or affairs ſhould be ever ſo urgent. But as Peterſburgh is not a thoroughfare, this reſtraint is leſs felt than otherwiſe it would be.

I made one or two excurſions into the country, particularly to Gatchina, a palace of prince Orloff's, about forty miles off. It is ſituated in the moſt eligible ſpot within a great diſtance of the metropolis, and will, when finiſhed, be a ſuperb ſeat. The gardens are laid out in the Engliſh taſte by a man of great merit, who was ſent for by the prince for that purpoſe. The nature of the ground, and a fine piece of water near the houſe, gave him ſcope for his genius. On my return from hence I ſaw the royal palace of Zarſco-Zelo: this was built by Elizabeth, and is the completeſt triumph of a barbarous taſte I have ſeen in theſe northern kingdoms. The ſituation is low, and commands hardly any proſpect, nor has any natural advantages to claim

ſuch

ſuch a preference. It is very large, and the front extends to a great length, as there is only one ſtory beſides the ground floors. All the capitals of the pillars, the ſtatues, and many other parts of the external ſtructure are gilt; nor does the eye meet ſcarce any thing elſe, in the apartments within. One room is in a very peculiar and uncommon ſtyle of magnificence; the ſides of it being entirely compoſed of amber, on which are diſpoſed feſtoons and other ornaments of the ſame material. Its tranſparency, and the conſciouſneſs of its rarity have a fine effect. This was a preſent from the reigning king of Pruſſia to the late empreſs. Her preſent majeſty prefers this palace to any of the others; and when there, ſhe is in retreat, as ſhe is in town at the Hermitage.

The grand duke of Ruſſia, and heir apparent to the crown, is juſt twenty years of age. It is very hard to know what qualities or talents he really poſſeſſes, ſince under this deſpotic and jealous government, there is ſcarcely any material power veſted in the ſecond, more than the hundredth perſon in the empire. He has not hitherto exhibited any ſhining parts, or peculiar traits of character. Thoſe who know him, ſay, he is amiable, affable, and well diſpoſed:—but how general and uncertain are theſe ſtrokes; and how little may we, perhaps, recogniſe them in the future emperor, Paul I.? He has been married about eleven months. The grand ducheſs, who is a German princeſs, of the houſe of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, is plain in her perſon; but yet has a ſomewhat about the lineaments of her countenance and whole demeanor, which, if I were inclined to judge from phyſiognomy, would give me

me a very favourable impreſſion of her heart and diſpoſition. This, I am aſſured, ſhe well merits, and that the duke is extremely attached to her.

The celebrated globe of Tycho Brahe, which Peter I. procured from Frederic IV. in Denmark, exiſts no more: it was conſumed by an accidental fire in 1747. I ſaw the new one lately conſtructed on the ſame model, but ſomewhat inferior in ſize. The exact dimenſions of the firſt I am unacquainted with. The preſent globe is eleven feet in diameter, from pole to pole, and in the inſide is a table, with ſeats round it, capable of admitting twelve perſons. On the internal concave globe, are all the celeſtial ſigns and conſtellations; the ſtars being marked, according to their different magnitudes, by ſilver ſtuds radiated. The external globe is painted with the various countries of the earth: but this part is not yet completed. A circular building has been erected in the midſt of an open ſpot, and detached from any other houſe, for the reception and preſervation of this noble aſtronomical machine, which is, I apprehend, the largeſt of its kind in Europe.

Of the genius, manners, and real character of the Muſcovites, I neither pretend, nor can poſſibly know much from the ſhort ſtay I made here. I only ſaw the reſidence of the court, not the ancient capital of the empire. Had I obeyed the impulſe of my own inclinations, I ſhould not have contented myſelf with this partial and imperfect view: on the contrary, my wiſhes would not even have been gratified by a ſight of Moſcow itſelf; I ſhould have continued my route from thence to Caſan and Aſtracan; nor ſtopped even there,

there, unleſs from an incapacity of paſſing by the Caſpian ſea, and intermediate provinces of the Ottoman dominion, to Conſtantinople. They ſmiled and gave me a look of incredulity mingled with ſurpriſe, when I aſſured them, it is my intention, if unſurmountable obſtacles do not prevent me, to return here and attempt this tour; little knowing that danger and fatigue have no terrors for me, when knowledge is the reward of my endeavours. I am conſcious this ſentiment is not to be transfuſed, nor perhaps in general believed. That paſſionate enthuſiaſm, that inſatiable avidity, that divine and indiſcribable delight which I experience while engaged in this occupation, I attempt in vain, by language and deſcription, to kindle in other boſoms, where nature has not given a ſimilarity of feeling.

I muſt confeſs that I found much entertainment, mingled with that improvement which opens and expands the mind, in this ſhort reſidence here; neither Copenhagen nor Stockholm contain ſo much to attract the notice of a traveller, particularly when it is remembered, that thoſe cities have probably reached their meridian, and that every month adds to the beauty and magnificence of this new-born metropolis, which will be long before it reaches its acmé.

Intending to travel through Ingria, formerly wreſted from Sweden, about ſix o'clock on the morning of the 28th of July, I quitted St. Peterſburgh, where ſeveral little accidents had concurred to detain me ſome days longer than I intended. The whole intermediate country from thence to the gates of Narva is a vaſt plain, level, open, and covered in many parts with harveſts, which the peaſants are already reaping. My intention

tention was only to have ſtaid in Narva a few hours, but the preſſing inſtances of two or three very hoſpitable gentlemen, whom I met with there, induced me to prolong it. After dinner, on the 29th, they carried me out of town, to ſhew me the celebrated ſpot on which Charles XII. routed one hundred thouſand Muſcovites, with his little Swediſh troop rather than army, about ſeventy years ago. The intrenchments of the Ruſſian camp are ſtill diſtinctly viſible, and extend near eighteen Engliſh miles along the ſhore of the Gulph of Finland. Their head quarters were eſtabliſhed in a little iſland ſituated at the narroweſt part of the river, where was a bridge, which, ſinking under the crowd of flying Muſcovites, deſtroyed as many as their enemies had done.

Peter moſt ſeverely revenged the diſhonour of his arms on that unfortunate day, when he afterwards took Narva, and tranſported the wretched inhabitants into the moſt remote parts of his dominions. They yet ſhew the baſtion where he gave the aſſault; and it is ſaid, that on his entering the place, and finding the Swediſh commandant in his robe de chambre, unapprehenſive of ſuch an event, he ſtruck him ſeveral times, reproaching him for his remiſſneſs to his ſovereign's intereſt, and for having been found in a dreſs ſo unworthy of a ſoldier. This anecdote is perfectly characteriſtic of Peter.

A gentleman of condition, with whom I formed a ſort of intimacy during my little ſtay, and who is equally a man of letters and urbanity, related to me an anecdote reſpecting his own family, which is both ſingular and intereſting. I give it nearly in his own words. "My mother,"

ſaid he, " and her elder ſiſter, became captives to the czar, when this city was taken. They were ſold as ſuch to the Ruſſians, and carried by them into the interior parts of the empire, ſouth of Moſcow. Fortune had not even allied them in this ſtate of exile; nor did the one know to what maſter the other belonged. In this ſituation, as a ſlave, my mother remained two years; at the end of which time ſhe diſcovered her elder ſiſter, whoſe fate had been much more propitious: a boyard, or noble, captivated with her perſon, married her, and had raiſed her to a ſtate of affluence and power. This ſhe immediately employed to reſcue her ſiſter, and under her protection my mother remained, till the interceſſion of the empreſs Catherine, who was originally a Livonian villager, procured permiſſion to all the baniſhed natives to return, and even the reſtitution of their houſes, effects, and fortunes. This edict induced my mother to quit the aſylum ſhe had found in Ruſſia, and ſhe returned again to Narva. I need not remind you, that the great prince Menzikoff, whoſe genius and merit raiſed him from the ſtation of a paſtry-cook's boy, to the higheſt employments under Peter I. was afterwards baniſhed to Siberia, and all his eſtates confiſcated. The boyard, who had married my aunt, was one of his immediate dependants, and had the ſuperintendance of his lands: he was involved in the ruin of the prince, and reduced to a ſtate of poverty and diſtreſs. His wife fled immediately to her younger ſiſter for refuge, who had now an opportunity to return the benefits ſhe had formerly received, and to extend that protection ſhe once had wanted. My aunt is dead; but my mother is alive at this preſent

time, from whoſe mouth I have a thouſand times heard the ſtory of her fortune.

"There are," continued he, "many old perſons yet alive, who remember the battle of Narva, and among others is a man, whoſe life was preſerved by a moſt uncommon circumſtance. He was an infant at the breaſt, and only about a twelvemonth old. Some Muſcovite ſoldiers with a mercileſs barbarity tore him from the nurſe's arms, and daſhing him againſt a wall left him bleeding, and, as they apprehended, dead; the woman, however, attached to the child, returned, and by her care recovered him; and he too is ſtill alive."

I ſpent the greater part of the 30th at the mouth of the river, which is about eight miles from Narva. It was beautiful weather, and tempted us to ſail out upon the Gulph of Finland. Ships of conſiderable burden lie in the road, there being very little water on the bar, though the river itſelf is deep quite up to the town. It empties itſelf into the great Peipus Lake, about forty miles ſouth of Narva. On the other ſide of this lake is ſituate the city of Pleſkow in Muſcovy. Oppoſite the town, is a large ſuburb with an ancient fortreſs called Ivanogorod, built by the czar, John Baſiliwitz, who was a cotemporary of our Elizabeth, and made a treaty of commerce with the Engliſh, under her reign. Theſe were the frontier towns of the Swediſh and Ruſſian territory for a long ſeries of years, the river forming the boundary, till the enterpriſing Peter enlarged the ancient limits of his dominions.

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realize that barbarous ſplendor which has been ſo frequently depictured, but is now ſo rarely to be ſeen in any parts of Europe. It was expenſive, and might have been worn by perſons of the firſt eminence, without degradation of their rank. Their heads were covered with a complete bonnet of pearls, which were not worth leſs than two thouſand rubles; and round their necks were ſeveral ſtrings of the ſame. A part of their necks was left expoſed; but the lower part was concealed by a veſt of red ſilk, which ſat cloſe to the breaſt, and was bordered with a gold lace of a vaſt breadth, which deſcended to their feet. Their arms had no other covering than the ſleeves of their ſhifts; and when they walked out, they threw over their heads and ſhoulders a piece of ſilk reſembling a Highland plaid, and which was a ſort of ſubſtitute for our capuchin. I ought to mention, that one of theſe four ladies had been married ſix months, though ſhe was then only twelve years and a half old; nor is this an uncommon or unprecedented thing: a proof of the early maturity to which women arrive in northern climates.

Next day I went to dine at a gentleman's ſeat, about a mile out of town, cloſe to the fall on the river.

It is a beautiful walk, along the banks of the river above Narva, to the falls. There are two, a ſmall iſland dividing the ſtream juſt at the place; I only ſaw one of them, the eye not taking in both at once, as on the Dahl in Sweden. If I had never ſeen theſe laſt-named cataracts, thoſe of Narva would have pleaſed me more, as they are in no reſpect to be placed in competition with them. The breadth is, indeed, greater; but

but the fall is only eighteen or nineteen feet. Yet even here, the roar of the water, when quite close, the mist flying up over it, and the surrounding objects, which are very picturesque, affect the mind with a pleasing astonishment, and detain the spectator in a voluntary bondage.

It was six in the evening before I returned to the town and pursued my journey. The first stage lies entirely over the plains which the Muscovites occupied on the famous day when young Charles defeated them. From thence the road turns in-land, and on the evening of the first of August, I found myself on the sands at the edge of the Peipus Lake, along whose borders I drove for several miles. Night closed in as I reached Ninal, a little village washed by its waves, and very delightfully situated. From hence I had only between forty and fifty miles to Derpt, where I got next morning to breakfast. This place, which is rather a large, straggling, ill-built village, than a town, was formerly, when Livonia belonged to Sweden, of considerable importance, having been fortified, and a frontier garrison on the side of Muscovy. It is situated in the most fertile and beautiful part of the province, on a small river, which communicates with the Peipus Lake, and surrounded with harvests, which at this season of the year were waving in all the pride of plenty. Just above the town, on an eminence, from whence the eye commands all this vale, stand the ruins of an abbey or cathedral, which the Russians are employed in totally demolishing. Its situation, which is very eligible in a military light, has induced them to commit this outrage on the venerable remains of piety and magnificence, which the building exhibits. Pos-

terity will ſee the ſtandard wave where the crucifix has ſtood, and the matin bell will be ſucceeded by the trumpet. He who reveres antiquity cannot but deplore this change, and regret the havoc which war, under every ſhape, is continually making on the productions of elegance and art.

I purſued my route, in the afternoon, through one of the moſt fertile plains which can be conceived: this beautiful vale terminated about forty miles from Derpt. As evening drew on, I entered a thick wood of fir and birch trees, where the ſand was almoſt up to the axle-tree of the chaiſe; the night was extremely dark, and it rained and blew very hard. It was one o'clock in the morning when I arrived at the poſt-houſe, which is in the midſt of the wood; and as I was determined to wait the return of day, I lay down in my clothes, and fell preſently faſt aſleep.

The ſame groves continued almoſt the whole enſuing day. In the evening I reached Wolmar, a little town which was formerly fortified, and where are yet the walls of a caſtle conſtructed by the Swedes. From hence I had only about eighty miles to the city of Riga; but it was the morning of the 5th when I got there, and terminated my journey acroſs Livonia. The diſtance from Narva exceeds three hundred Engliſh miles.

My ſtay in Riga was rather regulated by caprice, than ſtrictly proportioned to the number of objects it preſents, either to elegant amuſement or inſtruction. It would be hard to have found a ſpot more deſtitute of any natural beauties or advantages to induce an adventurer to fix in, than is that where Riga ſtands. Deep, barren ſands inveſt

inveſt it round on every ſide, and a traveller who regulated his ideas of the province by that part of it he ſaw here, would accuſe thoſe authors of groſs impoſition, who have called Livonia the granary of the north. It was commerce which evidently gave birth to the place, and the genius of which ſtill protects and enriches it. The river Duna is an inexhauſtible ſource of plenty, and amply makes amends for every other deficiency. It runs a vaſt length into the interior parts of Poland, and conveys down all the articles of trade exported from hence. Timber is one of the chief; and I was aſſured, that many of the largeſt trees did not arrive in Riga within two years, being cut near Bender on the banks of the Neiſter, from whence they are drawn over the ſnows in winter, to the Duna, and brought down the enſuing ſeaſon. In May and June the Poles uſually arrive, and return again before the end of July.

The bridge over the river, is one of the moſt ſingular and ſurpriſing in Europe: it is nine hundred paces long, and far exceeds in length that at Rouen, or any I ever ſaw. It conſiſts of traverſe beams of timber, joined together, and riſes or falls with the tide. In ſpring, as ſoon as the Duna is quite free from ice, they build it, and it is removed before the froſt ſets in, which happens commonly in November. It is only about nine or ten Engliſh miles to the mouth of the river, where it empties itſelf into the Baltic; and on the ſouthern ſide, three miles below the town, is the place where Charles XII. routed the Saxons, as he had firſt done the Ruſſians before Narva. A high bank of ſand is now collected, and poſſeſſes the ground where the action happened, under

der which are ſtill frequently found ſkulls and human bones.

The city of Riga itſelf, is a moſt diſagreeable one; it is extremely crowded, and ſurrounded by fortifications which prevent a poſſibility of its being altered or amended in this reſpect. The houſes are all high, and the ſtreets very narrow, very ill-paved, and very dirty. The ſuburbs are as large as the place itſelf, and are chiefly poſſeſſed by Ruſſians, the municipal privileges excluding them from the capacity of exerciſing any trade within its walls. There are about eight thouſand inhabitants in the city, and as many more in the Fauxbourgs. The commerce muſt neceſſarily be prodigious, as in the year 1772, no fewer than one thouſand and thirty veſſels, from various parts of Europe, entered the port. Its pretences to antiquity are pretty high: it is ſaid, that when the Teutonic Knights, about the year 1300, came to conquer and reform the Pagan inhabitants of the province, they found ſome merchants from Bremen, who had already ſettled on the bank of the Duna, and erected Riga, induced by the advantages it offered to commerce.

On the 9th I proceeded to Mittaw, the capital of Courland. It is a very pleaſant and agreeable drive of four hours from Riga to that place; the dominions of Ruſſia divide from thoſe of Courland, nearly at the mid-way. At the entrance of the town, I met his highneſs the duke, who was on horſeback with a ſmall train, and had juſt returned from hunting. Baron Klopman, the marſhal of his court, preſented me to him the following day. He treated me with great politeneſs, placed me on his left hand at dinner, the old ducheſs, his mother, ſitting on his right, and did me

me the honour to ſhew me in perſon the apartments of the palace, and ſeveral curioſities he has collected, in the afternoon. Our diſcourſe at table ran on the happy news, juſt received, of the peace concluded with the Turks, all the articles of which he recounted to me, as he had juſt received a letter from his ſiſter, the princeſs of Courland, who is married, and reſides at St. Peterſburgh, on that ſubject.

His highneſs expreſſed, many times, the high eſteem he entertained for the Engliſh nation: "and as a proof," ſaid he, "of the ancient alliance between us, I have now, among the archives of the dutchy, ſeveral treaties of friendſhip, not only from your kings, but even from the famous protector, Cromwell." He was perſonally acquainted with the late Lord Baltimore, who ſpent ſome days at Mittaw, during his father's reign; and aſſured me, that he had often intended, and yet hoped to viſit England. He was good enough to invite me to one of his country palaces at Ruhendahl, about twenty miles from hence, and ſituated, as he ſaid, in a lovely part of Courland; but as my time did not permit, I was obliged to decline this honour.

Courland, as well as Livonia, anciently belonged to the Teutonic Knights; but in the year 1461, the grand maſter of that order became the firſt duke: he was a nobleman of the name of Ketler, and in his family it continued till they became extinct in the perſon of Ferdinand. This was the ſame who fought ſo gallantly againſt Charles XII. at the battle of the Duna: he reſided at Dantzic, in a kind of exile from his country, and deprived of his natural inheritance. His predeceſſor, the young Duke Frederic, had been married

married to Anne, daughter of Ivan, elder brother of Peter the Great, and which princeſs afterwards aſcended the Ruſſian throne. He only lived ſix weeks after his nuptials, being carried off in the bloom of life by a violent fever. His widow retained poſſeſſion of the government, to the excluſion of Ferdinand, till the death of Peter II. when ſhe was called to the empire by a faction. Though this event obliged her to leave Mittaw, and return to Peterſburgh, yet her power continued; and on the death of the duke without iſſue, ſhe placed her favourite Biron in the dutchy, though Count Saxe had been previouſly elected by the nobility, and endeavoured to make ſome reſiſtance. This Biron was, for many years, her miniſter, and poſſeſſed the moſt unbounded power over both his miſtreſs and her ſubjects. She left him regent at her death, under the infant emperor Ivan; an office which he held only fifteen days, and from the poſſeſſion of which he was ſent into baniſhment. There he remained till the late empreſs Elizabeth's death, when Peter III. once more recalled him, and reinſtated him in his honours and dominions. During his diſgrace, Courland was governed for ſeveral years by the four great officers of ſtate, who preſide over the different departments, till Prince Charles of Saxony got footing in the dutchy, by the influence of his father the king of Poland, and held it three years, when the change of the ſovereign in Ruſſia, obliged him again to evacuate it. The late duke died only two years ago, upwards of eighty years of age, and tranſmitted the inheritance to his ſon the reigning prince. The duke is only the firſt nobleman of ſtate, his power not extending, in any degree, over the other nobility: they

they pay him no taxes or duties of any kind, and are abſolute lords on their own eſtates, having power of life and death over their vaſſals.

Courland is a fief of Poland, and as ſuch his preſent highneſs did homage in his father's name, and his own, to Staniſlaus, the reigning king, on his accceſſion at Warſaw. The dutchy is ſixty-three German miles in length, and twenty-ſix in breadth; it is exceedingly fertile, particularly in grain, from the duties on which, and his own patrimonial eſtates, the revenue chiefly ariſes. This ſeldom falls ſhort of four hundred thouſand dollars*, and amounts, ſometimes to almoſt double the ſum, as the price of grain determines it in a great meaſure. The duke has five hundred guards, chiefly for parade. He told me that the ancient reſidence of the dukes of Courland was at Goldingen, a town near ſixty Engliſh miles from hence, and where are ſtill the ruins of a palace which belonged to them.—The preſent palace at Mittaw was begun by the late duke before his baniſhment, and continued on his return. The plan is two magnificent and princely for a ſovereign with ſuch limited reſources; though, as he maintains neither a military nor naval armament, he is a rich man with economy. Its ſituation is very agreeable, on a ſmall eminence, juſt without the town, and waſhed by the river Aa, which is pretty broad, and winds moſt delightfully through the meadows which ſurround it on all ſides. The country is moſtly flat, finely wooded, and reſembles exceedingly ſome parts of England.—The river is navigable to Riga for

* A coin, value about three ſhillings and ſixpence Engliſh.

ſmall

ſmall boats; and as there is always a number of theſe veſſels going and returning, the view of the ſails apparently moving through the fields, is charmingly pictureſque.

The town of Mittaw is not very ancient; a private gentleman of Courland founded it, in the year 1426. It occupies at leaſt as much ground as Riga, but as the ſtreets are more ſpacious, and the buildings more ſcattered, it cannot properly be regarded as equal in ſize; the inhabitants are only between three and four thouſand. Moſt of the houſes are of wood, and very mean in their appearance. It is horridly paved, and which is ſtill more ſingular, the nobleſſe have oppoſed and prevented the duke's intention to repair this defect, from motives of caprice and obſtinacy. He is obliged to ſummon a diet, compoſed entirely of their body, once in two years, which enacts laws and redreſſes grievances; he preſides over, but has little influence or authority in it. This dutchy, indeed, is an exact reſemblance of Poland, in miniature; the ſame political evils exiſt in both.

The duke is a lover of letters, and has lately founded an academy in Mittaw, for the inſtruction of the young nobility and perſons of condition in the dutchy, at his own expence. This is a very laudable foundation, and does him great honour.

I was ſo pleaſed with the environs of this city, as well as with my reception at the ducal court, that I wiſhed, had time permitted, to have prolonged my ſtay; and to have accompanied the duke in one of his hunting expeditions, in which exerciſe he is very expert.

However

However, being limited by time, I left Mittaw on the 11th of Auguſt, about noon, and reached Frawemburg, a little village fifty miles diſtant, before midnight. Nothing could exceed the beauty of the country through which I paſſed: wide extended plains, which a week or two before had waved with corn, and on which the ſheaves were ſtill ſtanding, impreſſed the traveller with ideas of plenty and happineſs. Nature has been uncommonly bounteous to Courland, and that epithet of the Sicily of the north, uſually attributed to Livonia, belongs with more juſtice to this province; the products of which being anciently all exported from Riga, gave birth to the common mode of expreſſion.

I continued my journey very early in the morning, having taken ſome repoſe, more from a deſire of not loſing any part of the proſpects which preſented themſelves, than from fatigue or want of reſt. I was amply repaid for this little delay, by a continuation of the ſame elegant ſcenery. I paſſed through ſeveral pleaſant woods, compoſed of oaks, aſpens, oſiers, larch, and nut trees; and under the ſhelter of this variegated ſhade, I dined on ſome cold proviſions I had brought with me, while the ſervant procured me a deſſert of nuts from the boughs over my head, which were loaden with them. I ſtopped again, during the middle of the night, at a little hamlet, where the poſt-houſe was ſituated. As I approached the borders, both the population and the fertility of the ſoil diminiſhed. I reached the frontier of the dutchy on Saturday morning, and croſſing a rivulet, over a wooden bridge, entered Lithuania, an angle of which divides Pruſſia from Courland. I was ſtopped at Polangen, a miſer-

able town in this province, and had the honour to be ſearched, at a kind of cuſtom-houſe, in the name of King Staniſlaus. The place itſelf ſtands at an inconſiderable diſtance from the ſhore of the Baltic, and is remarkable for the quantities of amber collected near it, which forms their only branch of commerce. In the afternoon I got to Memel, the firſt town in his Pruſſian majeſty's dominions, where I was obliged once more to undergo the ceremony of a ſearch, which was conducted with greater ſeverity than it had been in Poland; moſt rigorous penalties being annexed to the introduction of any prohibited articles, however ſmall in quantity, into the kingdom. As I intended to make a ſhort ſtay in Memel, I had provided myſelf with letters to a principal commercial houſe: the hoſpitality I had found at Narva, and the politeneſs ſhewn me at Riga, had prepoſſeſſed me with a favourable idea of my reception in this place; and I loſt not a minute, on my arrival, in preparing myſelf to wait on the perſons to whom my recommendations were addreſſed. It was near ſeven in the evening, and had been a very rainy day: I took the opportunity of a ſhort ſuſpenſion of the ſtorms, and tripped nimbly along the ſtreets, preceded by a girl without ſhoes or ſtockings, who was ſent to ſhew me the way. When we came to the houſe, my ragged conductreſs oppened the ſtreet door without ceremony, and running up a pair of ſtairs, threw open another door into an apartment, where ſhe left me, and retired with as much precipitation as ſhe had entered. I ſtepped in. If the deſks and bookcaſes, which ſurrounded near three ſides of this room, had not declared it to be a counting-houſe, I ſhould moſt certainly have miſtaken it

it for a cock-loft: the caſements were ſo completely covered with duſt and filth, that no objects were diſtinctly viſible through them at any time of the day; but more particularly ſo at the hour when I made my appearance. Two black ill-looking figures ſtarted up at the ſame moment, like automatons actuated by ſprings, and ſeemed, by their regards, to demand the cauſe of ſo abrupt an entrance. I muſt own, the manner of my entrance into this ſtrange apartment rather diſconcerted me: taking, however, my credentials out of my pocket, I preſented them to him who ſtood next me, with a ſhort addreſs to explain the cauſe of my intruſion. This produced a low bow from both, and while one peruſed the letters, the other deſired me to be ſeated on a ſtool, which had once been covered with leather; but time having eaten it all away, the horſe-hair, which compoſed the ſtuffing, ſupplied its place. I complied with the invitation, and amuſed myſelf by looking round me, while the two brothers were engaged with the credentials. "Iſt die heer ein Kauffmann?" ſaid the ſecond, ſtretching out his head with a look of ignorance and curioſity. "Ich weiſs nicht," anſwered the other, ſhaking his in turn. "Gentlemen," ſaid I, "though I am not ſo happy as to ſpeak German, I underſtand ſomewhat of the language: the motives which induce me to travel, are thoſe of knowledge and improvement; and my ſtay here, as in every other place I viſit, is chiefly determined by the objects it preſents of inſtruction and liberal entertainment." "We apprehended," anſwered the firſt, "you might be come to our fair, which will begin Monday: if you want any goods, our clerks ſhall ſhew you the way, and get them for you."

"I am happily," ſaid I, "not in want of any goods, except a few amber toys for preſents; and I am told this is the propereſt place in the world to procure them." "I don't know," replied he; "if, indeed, you want only a few toys, the landlord of the inn where you lodge can ſupply you as well as any one; but if you would purchaſe amber in the groſs, the town of Polangen, which you came through, was the moſt eligible place; it belongs to the crown of Poland at this time; but we are in great hopes that our king will, ere long, get hold of it; and then, you know, we ſhall have all the amber trade in our own hands." Unhappy Staniſlaus! thought I; how little do the conſiderations of equity and honour weigh againſt thoſe of intereſt! "The trade of Memel is, notwithſtanding," reſumed I, "pretty large at this time; is it not?" "Indifferent," ſaid he: "there are only four houſes who divide it; we export a great deal of timber, which is brought down the river Ruſſe from the interior parts of Lithuania, and conveyed here in boats: we deal too, pretty largely, in hemp, flax, and linſeed: five hundred ſhips were laden here laſt year with theſe articles, and as many more might have been laden this ſeaſon, if the water on the bar was not ſo much decreaſed lately. There were eighteen feet, and now there are only fifteen; a melancholy circumſtance for us! Remonſtrances have been preſented to the king on this ſubject, and orders given in conſequence; but they are not executed: his majeſty is a great man, but Berlin is very diſtant; and this is a frontier of the kingdom."

I aſked if there were any objects of curioſity at Memel. "There is not any thing that I know of,"

of," ſaid the ſecond brother, "except a pot-aſh manufactory, and you may ſee a better one at Dantzic: the ſhips at the quay are our fineſt ſight." I turned the diſcourſe to a new ſubject, in the intention of prolonging the time; but having, at laſt, exhauſted every topic of converſation, and it growing ſo very dark, that I could hardly diſtinguiſh my companions, I found I muſt go; ſo riſing up I made my bow, and wiſhed them a good night. I returned home half mortified at my unſucceſsful viſit, which had not even procured me an invitation to dinner, which I wiſhed, for a private reaſon.

I however, made the beſt of my condition, and drank a glaſs of tolerable Rheniſh wine at my ſolitary ſupper, having ordered poſt horſes for Koningſberg at noon next day. In the morning I walked out to look at the town. The ladies were picking out their way through the dirtieſt vileſt ſtreets it is poſſible to conceive, in negligees and white ſatin ſhoes; and the gentlemen were eſcorting them to church, for it was Sunday, in blue velvet coats, and vaſt Kevenhuller hats. There were ſome exquiſite figures among them. Leonardo da Vinci would have found excellent ſubjects to work on. It was a moſt laughable ſcene. There is not, indeed, any thing in this place to detain a man of curioſity two hours: the buildings are very wretched; and, as my friend ſaid in the counting-houſe, I think "the ſhips at the quay are the fineſt ſight in Memel."

From hence to Koningſberg, the road lies over a tongue of ſand, about eighty-three miles in length, and not more than a ſingle one in breadth in many places: in none does it exceed three. This extraordinary bank of ſand terminates a lit-

tle to the northward of the town, from which it is ſeparated by a haven of near half a mile in breadth. When the weather is fine, and the ſea ſmooth, one may drive along it with great pleaſure, as the ſands cloſe to the margin of the water are hard and firm. Unfortunately for me, it blew very hard from the weſt, and drove the waves a long way higher on the beach than uſual. I landed on the ſand about two in the afternoon, and reached the firſt poſt-houſe as night cloſed in. A more terrible one I hardly ever remember: it not only rained without intermiſſion, but the wind now blew a hurricane. The ſea being driven by its fury a long way beyond the uſual bounds, neceſſitated the poſtillions to drive through the very ſurf, which many times completely covered the fore wheels of the carriage, and roared like thunder in my ears. In ſuch a ſituation I could not take much repoſe, and more than once apprehended I ſhould have been inevitably overturned into the ſea. Morning came moſt welcome after ſuch a night, and about eight o'clock I got to a miſerable hovel, called an inn, where I found the poor inhabitants employed in boiling pumpkins, which appeared to be one chief article of their food. The women were without any ſort of head-dreſs except their hair, and ſcarce covered to the knees. Here, among horſes in a large ſtable, I ate my breakfaſt, and drank my coffee very compoſedly. I reached the ſouthern termination of the ſand, where it joins the continent, about noon; and gladly found myſelf once more on firm ground, after having driven two-and-twenty hours along the ſhore of the Baltic, and often amid its very waves.

My

My road afterwards to Koningſberg lay through a flat, but incloſed and cultivated, country. I was ſtopped at the gate of that city. After the officer on guard had inſpected my paſs, a ſoldier, with his bayonet fixed, mounted the coach-box, and the poſtillion blowing his horn, I was conducted like a priſoner of ſtate through a number of ſtreets to the cuſtom-houſe. There I underwent another ſearch *à la Pruſſienne*, and was then permitted to drive to an inn.

A gentleman of rank, with whom I became acquainted the day of my arrival, did me the honour to invite me to a ball the enſuing evening at his own houſe. I went about ſix o'clock; and the weather being fine, the ladies were ſeated under an arbour in the garden, while a band of muſic played. He preſented me to them all without diſtinction; leaving to my own feelings where to give the preference. In this ſituation, it was not her beauty which drew me to a particular one, though, perhaps, in that endowment nature had given her the ſuperiority. Shall I ſay it was chance merely then: or are there not ſome ſecret and unknown cauſes, which attract by a ſubtle and irreſiſtible energy certain perſons, in whoſe boſoms a congeniality of ſoul has formed them to give and receive a mutual pleaſure? The paſſions of the heart, however, depend not on the deductions of the underſtanding, and admiration may be experienced without defining it. Her perſon was ſlender, and formed with ſymmetry: a delicacy mingled with a languor was its chief characteriſtic. This quality was not confined to any particular attitude, feature, or look; it was diffuſed all over her; and might be as perceptibly diſcerned in the movement of her hand, as in the

changes

changes of her eye. Time had not taken any thing from the natural lovelineſs of her countenance; but ſickneſs had tinged her cheek with a paleneſs, without, however, diminiſhing its charms. She was born at Berlin, but of French extraction. Her knowledge of this laſt language was only equalled by her acquaintance with the Italian. She read Taſſo and Boileau with equal eaſe. Her health did not permit her to dance; but ſhe recommended to me her friend, a young lady, very amiable, if my heart could have found any thing ſo, beſides herſelf. Muſic had no attractions for me, unleſs of a ſecondary nature, and which it derived from her; nor could dancing animate my heart. I returned from this gay thraldom to the happineſs of ſitting beſide her, of regarding every alteration in her face, and attending to the accents of her tongue. She was not inſenſible to this ſpecies of homage, more truly flattering than a volume of compliments, and was one of the few women I have met with, who know that love has no alliance with loquacity. She invited me to teach her Engliſh, and promiſed, in return, to be my preceptreſs in German. The very genius of the language would have appeared different, when ſhe deigned to inſtruct me in it; and all its aſperities would have been ſoftened in paſſing through ſuch a medium. But charmed as I was with the woman and the tutoreſs, inſuperable obſtacles precluded the poſſibility of my ſtay in Koningſberg.

This is a vaſt city: it contains fifty thouſand inhabitants, excluſive of eight thouſand ſoldiers; it is a great collection of houſes and ſtreets without elegance, beauty, or order. Here is an academy, founded by one of the firſt dukes of Pruſſia;

ſia; but our grammar ſchools in England are, in general, much ſuperior to it. A profeſſor ſhewed me the library, and other apartments: there is nothing worth looking at, except the original ſafe conduct given by Charles V. to Martin Luther, when he attended the diet of Worms in 1521, and ſigned by the emperor's hand: this merits preſervation.

Koningſberg has a conſiderable trade in hemp and flax, but it is ſeven German miles from Pillaw, the ſeaport at the efflux of the river Pregel; ſo that only very ſmall veſſels can come up to the town. The preſent king of Pruſſia has not ſhewn any attachment or fondneſs for this part of his dominions; nor has he viſited the city ſince the year 1753, though he comes annually to make a general review of the troops at Graudentz, near Marienwerder, on the Viſtula, not far removed from hence. The river is narrow here, but there are ſome very pleaſant gardens on its banks. I am told, a king of Bohemia founded Koningſberg in 1255, this part of Pruſſia being at that time dependant on his kingdom.

Though I had ſeveral inducements, from the agreeable ſociety I met with, to prolong my ſtay, I quitted Koningſberg on the 20th of Auguſt, and purſued my journey along the banks of the river Pregel, through a fertile plain. It was one of the fineſt days of the ſeaſon, the rays of the ſun being moderated and attempered by a breeze from the water, and all nature gay. I ſtopped the carriage on a riſing ground, at a little diſtance from the town, and looked back on its numerous ſpires, which were gilded by the eaſtern ſun; a tear of vexation and deſpair ſtood in my eye, and diminiſhed the proſpect, as I recalled

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ſome tender ideas; but fancy endeavoured to penetrate the gloom.

The axletree of the chaiſe broke down in the afternoon; and as ſeveral hours were requiſite to make a new one, I was neceſſitated to remain in the village where it happened during the reſt of the day. I lay down at night in a bed, and in an apartment which might well have ſerved for the original of that where Pope deſcribes Villiers expiring, and than which imagination can hardly conceive any more miſerable and gloomy. In the morning early I proceeded, and got to Frawemburg to breakfaſt. This is a little town, ſituated in a ſandy plain, on the ſea-ſhore. I ſtopped to ſee the church, which has been very renowned in paſt ages. It ſtands on a hill, commanding an extenſive proſpect, and belonged anciently to the biſhops of Ermeland. Theſe were both eccleſiaſtical and temporal princes. Their revenues were not leſs than thirty thouſand ducats per annum, and their territories pretty conſiderable. This fief has been conſidered by the king of Pruſſia as belonging to him, and in conſequence ſequeſtered to his uſe: the preſent biſhop is a young Poliſh nobleman, and was inveſted in the ſee ſome few years ſince by Staniſlaus. He is ſaid to poſſeſs the powers of inſinuation in a great degree, and by his raillery and facetiouſneſs, to have ingratiated himſelf exceedingly with his new ſovereign, who, in conſequence, has allowed him an annual penſion of about ſix thouſand ducats from the revenues, on which he now reſides at Cracow. The church of Frawemburg is of Catholic foundation, and they were celebrating the matin ſervice when I entered it. As they had informed me at Koningſberg, that the

the immortal Copernicus was interred here, I waited with no little impatience in the expectation of ſeeing his tomb; but in this I was diſappointed. One of the prieſts aſſured me, that though he had been a canon of the cathedral, his remains were buried at Thorn, the place of his nativity. They, however, ſtill ſhew the apartment which belonged to him; and the canons are at this time ſupplied with water, by a machine of his invention, which raiſes it to a great height from the vale below, whence it is diſtributed to every part of their reſidence. This engine I ſaw; and was ſtruck with its great ſimplicity. The celebrated machine of Marli was conſtructed from the plan of it, by order of Louis XVI.

It is not more than twenty miles from Frawemburg to Elbing, which I reached on the 21ſt. This city was founded by a colony from Lubeck, the Tyre of the Baltic, about the year 1234. It is ſituated on a little river, which falls into the ſea near five miles off, but admits only very ſmall veſſels. The Teutonic Knights were lords of it for a conſiderable number of years; but in 1450 the inhabitants ultimately ſhook off their yoke. From this era we may date the ſplendor of its annals; they became rich, powerful, and commercial; they were reſpected throughout all the north, and even made war on the kings of Denmark and Sweden, with ſucceſs. Guſtavus Adolphus took it: but his premature death, and the peace of Weſtphalia, which followed in 1648, reſtored them again to their liberties. Charles XII. entered it by aſſault in the beginning of the preſent century, as it adhered to Auguſtus his enemy. It remained free ſince that time under the protec-

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tion of Poland, to the diet of which kingdom it ſent two members, till the 13th of September 1772, when his Pruſſian majeſty's general took poſſeſſion of it in the name of his maſter, and drove out the Poliſh garriſon of two hundred men, who attempted to make ſome defence. The black eagle has now ſupplanted the croſs, their ancient arms, and appears over every gate of the city. They already feel the rigour and rapacity of this new government, which threatens to ſwallow up all Poliſh Pruſſia, and to extinguiſh freedom and commerce in one general ruin. The city itſelf contains about fifteen thouſand inhabitants. The architecture of the houſes is the moſt groteſque and ſingular I have ſeen in Europe. They terminate in a point, and almoſt all the upper ſtories are untenantable, being deſigned for granaries, and not for reſidence.

I was permitted, by particular requeſt, to ſee the treaſures lately diſcovered here, and about which ſo much has been ſaid in the public prints all over Europe. They are contained in three large coffers, in a vaulted apartment of the town hall, where they had lain untouched a number of years. The whole conſiſts of plate, or ornaments worn by the prieſts in the celebration of divine ſervice. The exquiſite delicacy of the workmanſhip conſtitutes their chief value, the intrinſic worth not exceeding twenty-five thouſand ecus, or ſix thouſand pounds ſterling. The gentleman, in whoſe cuſtody they are, gave me the following hiſtory of them: When the city was taken by Guſtavus Adolphus, he put the Lutherans into poſſeſſion of the cathedral, which, previous to that event, belonged to the Catholics. Uladiſlaus, king of Poland, reſtored it to them ſome years

after; but the pious followers of Luther found means to ſecret moſt of the riches belonging to the original proprietors, which they concealed effectually in this obſcure retreat. The ſecret was a dangerous one, known to few, and very well kept. They wait, at preſent, to know his majeſty's pleaſure reſpecting the diſpoſition of them; and, as he is a prince not bigotted to any particular religion or ſuperſtition, he may, perhaps, cover his ſide-board with them: but the Catholics hope for better things from his piety. In the ſame chamber where theſe holy relics have been diſcovered, were likewiſe ſeveral ſwords, which belonged to the Teutonic Knights. I examined them with great attention, and am almoſt induced to believe they are merely weapons of oſtentation, deſigned, like Alexander's mangers and armour in India, to impreſs poſterity with falſe ideas of their perſonal ſtrength and proweſs. Their weight and dimenſions are ſo enormous, that, though I meaſured one of them, I am afraid to name its exact length. Nothing can be more rude and barbarous than their conſtruction: two pieces of iron form the garde, and round the gripe is a bandage of ſtraps of leather croſſed.

Marienbourg, the original and magnificent reſidence of the Teutonic Knights, ſtands about twenty miles from Elbing. It is well known, that folly and a religious rage firſt gave birth to thoſe knights, in the ages of darkneſs. It was in the year 1191, at the time when our Richard was oppoſing Saladine under the walls of Jeruſalem, that the reigning pope, Celeſtine, inſtituted this new reinforcement to the Chriſtian arms. They were only forty in number, and a German lord, by name Henry Valpot, was appointed

grand maſter of the order: their proweſs did not, however, maintain them long in Paleſtine, from whence they were driven out pretty early in the thirteenth century. Conrade, duke of Maſovia, was at that time their head. Fighting was their only profeſſion; and enemies of ſome kind were abſolutely requiſite. Happily for their views, the north of Europe was yet much of it unſubdued to the holy church, and wrapt in Paganiſm. It was a moſt meritorious action to cut theſe infidels to pieces, and Pope Gregory IX. gave his ſanction to the cauſe. Thus authorized, Conrade led them on, and entered Pruſſia. They either drove out the inhabitants, or baptized them; and eſtabliſhed themſelves firmly in their new conqueſts. On the banks of the river Nogat, in a beautiful plain, they fixed their grand reſidence, and began to conſtruct the caſtle of Marienbourg in 1281. The firſt maſter of the order came to reſide there in 1309. They became afterwards very powerful, and conquered all Samogitia, Courland, Livonia, and other provinces; they made war with Poland, and, in 1461, Marienbourg was beſieged and taken by the Poles, but reſtored again. From this era their ſplendor diminiſhed: they grew licentious and debauched in their manners, tyrannical and oppreſſive in their government. In 1524, they were totally driven out of Pruſſia, under Albert, marquis of Brandenbourg, the thirty-fourth grand maſter of their order, and their power ultimately aboliſhed.

The caſtle of Marienbourg conſiſted of three detached and ſeparate ſtructures; the firſt, and moſt ancient, was deſigned apparently for defence. It was ſquare in its figure, ſurrounded by a trench of prodigious magnitude. The king of

of Pruſſia has ſo mutilated and altered this part, by converting it into caſerns for his ſoldiery, ſince he took poſſeſſion of the town, that all its original beauty is loſt, and the antiquarian ſearches in vain for the genuine traces of the Teutonic magnificence, amid modern bricks and mortar. He has ſpared the chapels, which are built one over the other. The Catholic prieſt ſhewed me both. In the ſubterranean chapel, ſeveral grand maſters of the order have been interred, under ſtones, round which are inſcriptions; but the character, through time, is illegible. The upper one is built in a very elegant ſtyle of Gothic architecture. At the eaſt end, on the outſide of the edifice, in a deep niche of the wall, ſtands a wooden ſtatue of the Virgin, twelve feet high, holding the infant Jeſus in her arms: it is not badly executed, and has ſuffered very little in the lapſe of ſo many centuries, from the injuries of time. One of the grand maſters erected this image ſoon after the completion of the caſtle, and the Virgin being the protectreſs of the order, they gave the name of Marienbourg to the town and fortreſs.

It would ſeem that, when they increaſed in power and numbers, the ſecond part of the caſtle was conſtructed. It is only divided by the trench from the firſt, but is plainly built on a different plan: magnificence is the characteriſtic, and it conſiſts entirely of apartments, public and private. The whole is, as yet, in great preſervation, and unaltered. The council chamber, or ſala of conference, is a grand room, being twenty paces every way. In the midſt is a column of an octagonal form, compoſed of one piece of brown granate, ſpreading in radii like a fan at top, and ſupporting the roof, which, like every other in

the building, is vaulted. There is a double row of windows in it, and round three ſides is a very high ſtone bench, where the knights ſat on theſe occaſions. The refectoire is ſtill more ſuperb: it is forty paces in length, by twenty in breadth. Three ſimilar pillars of granate ſupport the roof, the capitals of which are curiouſly adorned with figures in alto relievo. There are many chambers of a ſmaller ſize. Round the whole of this ſecond diviſion of the caſtle is another moat, but neither ſo broad nor deep as the firſt.

The laſt diviſion covers a longer ſpace of ground than either of the others, and was doubtleſs intended for their horſes, domeſtics, and inferior attendants. It is ſurrounded with a narrow ditch, beyond which is a high wall, flanked with towers at ſmall diſtances, which forms the outermoſt barrier. The circumference of the whole fortification does not, I imagine, fall ſhort of an Engliſh mile. Several gentlemen of the town aſſured me, that the ſubterranean works of this caſtle are not leſs ſurpriſing and vaſt, than the ſtructure which appears above the earth. They ſay, that beneath the firſt of the three edifices I have enumerated, are three ranges of vaulted cellars, one under the other, into the loweſt of which they have deſcended ſome years ago. I ſhould have had curioſity enough to have done the ſame, if they had been ten deep; but it is not now practicable, the arches in ſome places being fallen in, or obſtructed by earth, and the air being too noxious and unwholeſome to permit the attempt. Over the chapel is a very high tower, to the top of which I aſcended, by a horrid ſtaircaſe, abſolutely dark, and the ſteps in many parts broken and decayed. The proſpect, from the

the ſummit, richly repaid my trouble. It extends eaſt to Elbing, and weſt to Dantzic; and below lies the rich vale watered by the Viſtula and the Nogat, terminated to the north by the Baltic.

The city of Marienbourg itſelf contains nothing very extraordinary. It was formerly the head of a league, which comprehended twenty-ſeven ſmall towns, all ſituate in Poliſh Pruſſia, and which held dietines. This little confederacy has been long extinct, and the town itſelf ſhared the ſame fate as Elbing: on the ſame day, the Pruſſian ſoldiers having marched in without reſiſtance. There are, at this time, one thouſand ſix hundred of them here, which equal the number of inhabitants in the place.

I went, on the afternoon of the 23d, in company with two very agreeable young women and a gentleman, to ſee the junction of the two great rivers of Poliſh Pruſſia, the Viſtula and the Nogat. It is one of the moſt picturesque and beautiful landſcapes which nature preſents. It is near thirteen miles from Marienbourg to the ſpot: about the midway one ſees both rivers, and the road lies through a deep wood of oaks till within two hundred yards of the point. Here the trees are cleared away, and emerging from the gloom cauſed by them, the whole beautiful ſcene burſts at once upon the ſight. I ſtood ſome minutes on the extreme verge, where the rivers unite, in ſilent contemplation of this lovely proſpect. On my left was the Nogat, whoſe courſe is viſible for ſeveral miles to the north, till it is loſt between the high banks which bound it on either ſide. The Viſtula is on the right, and forms a ſtriking contraſt, its banks being even with the water, and the river itſelf is only to be ſeen an inconſi-

derable way, on account of its ſerpentine progreſs. A little iſland, exactly at the junction, covered with bruſhwood, forms a fine break in the view. Beyond it appears the main ſtream of the Viſtula, undivided, which rolls along in ſilent tranquil majeſty, under hanging woods, which extend to the ſouth as far as the horizon. The ſails of ſeveral fiſhing-boats, ſeen on different parts of the rivers, leave ſcarce any thing for imagination herſelf to add. We drank coffee in this delightful receſs, under cover of the trees, on an eminence, from whence all theſe objects were diſtinctly obſerved. The peaſants, for there is a hamlet here, brought us bread, butter, and cream. It was almoſt night before we returned to town.

From Marienbourg to the gates of Dantzic, diſtant thirty-five miles, is almoſt one continued garden. I croſſed the Viſtula at Dirſchaw, a little town, moſt beautifully ſituate on its banks, and commanding a view of all this fertile country. About an Engliſh mile and a half before I got to the town of Dantzic, I came to the laſt Pruſſian guard, and entered the territory of the republic, which is at preſent diminiſhed on every ſide, and inveſted by huſſars and grenadiers of an abſolute prince. Freedom, it is true, yet reigns within theſe limits, though narrow, and waves her ſacred banner on the ramparts: but how long this may continue, is certainly matter of uncertainty and doubt. If the melancholy fate of Elbing, or Marienbourg, can form a preſage; if the unfeeling rapacity ſhewn in the diviſion of Poland, its feudal parent, and once its protector; if the general train of policy, I ſhould rather ſay of unreſtrained avidity, exerciſed by the court of Berlin in Poliſh Pruſſia, enables one to determine,

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its final extinction is not far off. To what happy or valuable purpoſes, indeed, can the poſſeſſion of perſonal independence ſerve, when the vital ſpirit, which once ſupplied it, is fled? Their commerce, their revenues, their riches, are already either ſeized on, or burthened with impoſts and duties which muſt eventually deſtroy them. The city itſelf, which no king of Poland ever dared to enſlave; which has for centuries known the ſweets of an equal government and public liberty; now awaits, in trembling expectation, the hour of its deſtruction, and implores, perhaps in vain, the powers of Europe to ſave her from a new enemy, a ſovereign, whoſe claims are equally unpected as unbounded, and who, though apparently reſtrained from open violence by political motives, watches only the favourable moment when treachery or intrigue may put him into poſſeſſion*. Moſt, or all the ſuburbs, which are very populous and extenſive, are already occupied by Pruſſian ſoldiery, who, on one ſide, are cloſe to the very fortifications, a paliſado only ſeparating them from the Dantzic guards. Public diverſions of every nature are prohibited by the magiſtrates, and the German comedy is in one of thoſe ſuburbs which has been taken from them.

A languor and a decay was viſible, at this time, through every department; and the Viſtula, which, they ſay, at the preſent ſeaſon of the year, uſed to be covered with little veſſels and boats, was no longer crowded.

* Mr. Wraxall has lived to ſee the painful accompliſhment of his generous fears for this celebrated city, and the final partition of Poland.

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An enthuſiaſtic lover of antiquities, I did not fail to enquire after thoſe of this place. I was indebted, principally, for my information to two gentlemen, to whom I was introduced ſoon after my arrival, Monſieur le Baron Zorn and Dr. Wolf, whoſe names I ought not to mention without owning the obligations their politeneſs and readineſs to communicate knowledge, has laid me under. The laſt of them is animated with a ſpirit of independence worthy Hampden or Sidney. He reſided ſome years ſince at Warſaw, but quitted it on account of the troubles and anarchy which foreign ambition has introduced into that capital. He retired to Dirſchaw, about twenty miles from hence, built himſelf an obſervatory for his aſtronomical ſtudies, and remained there till the king of Pruſſia ſeized on the town and ſurrounding territory. Unable to bear a yoke ſo galling, he left Dirſchaw, and removed to this city; and he now declares, that ſhould it ceaſe to be free, he will embark for England, where he has already been, and where every fugitive may find an aſylum. Happy, glorious country, which can thus extend its parental protection to perſecuted merit of every kind; and where freedom, almoſt unknown from the pole to the equator, holds her peaceful and gentle reign!

The origin of Dantzic, like that of almoſt every other kingdom, or city, is loſt in tradition and fable. A colony of Danes is ſaid to have founded it about the middle of the twelfth century; and the name it now bears is only a corruption of the word Danſke, which ſignifies Dane. Previous to this era, it is pretended, the kings of Poland had a fort and governor on a hill, at preſent part of the fortifications, and called from him

him Hogalberg, or Hogal's Hill, to this day. The Danes requeſted of him as large a portion of ground for their reſidence as they could circumſcribe, by extending their arms: this incloſed a circle of near two miles, and was the firſt, or old city. Little occurs of importance from this time till the year 1312, when a certain Pole, by name Potcammer, being governor, plotted with the Margraves of Brandenburg to deliver it up to them. The deputy governor, aware of this treachery, informed Ladiſlaus III. king of Poland, and they jointly called in the Teutonic Knights, who kept poſſeſſion of the place, and were too powerful to be expelled. Under them the new city was built, which comprehended nearly the limits of Dantzic, as it exiſts now. In 1456 the inhabitants threw off their ſubjection to the knights, in concert with the other cities of Poliſh Pruſſia, and became independent under the protection of Poland. On the flight and abdication of Henry of Valois, in 1574, that kingdom was divided, one party having elected Stephen Batori, duke of Tranſylvania, the other declaring for the Emperor Maximilian II. Dantzic adhering to the latter, was beſieged by Stephen, the Conqueror, for a whole year, and was then reduced to purchaſe a peace, by a ſurrender of every thing valuable in the place. Yet, in twenty years after, ſo great were the advantages of their commerce, they were again become wealthy. The ſiege of 1734, by the Ruſſians, is yet remembered by numbers here, when Staniſlaus Leſzinſki made his eſcape through ſo many enemies; and they ſhew the ſpot, without one of the baſtions, where five thouſand Muſcovites are interred, who periſhed in an attempt to ſtorm the town.

Dantzic

Dantzic is yet neither elegant nor handſome. The houſes are in general lofty, and in an antique taſte. In moſt of the ſtreets are trees, which, in ſummer, afford an agreeable ſhade; but in the winter muſt be very inconvenient. The building uſed at preſent as an exchange, merits attention from its antiquity: it is a ſquare chamber, vaulted: in the middle is a marble ſtatue erected to Auguſtus III. the late king of Poland.

I viſited the arſenal, and muſt own I was ſurpriſed at the prodigious military ſtores contained in it, and the order in which they are kept. The man ſhewed me a ſort of muſquetoon, weighing thirty-ſix pounds, which Auguſtus II. is ſaid to have diſcharged with one hand. This I can well believe, as the proofs he gave of uncommon ſtrength are too numerous and well atteſted, to admit of any queſtion. In a ſmall apartment of the arſenal, is a very beautiful honorary tomb, erected by Sigiſmund, king of Sweden and Poland, to the memory of his father, John III. It is of Italian workmanſhip, and finely executed. Sigiſmund is ſaid to have preſented this piece to the city of Dantzic.

The other public buildings are not very remarkable. In the great church is a vaſt pillar hollowed, which, it is pretended, was anciently uſed to immure eccleſiaſtics guilty of heinous crimes. I looked down into it from above, through two iron bars which croſs the opening at the top. The depth is, I imagine, forty feet, and the ſquare dimenſions within, about ſeven. There is ſomething white ſcattered on the ground, which they ſay is bones.

As liberty of religion is publicly allowed in Dantzic, there are churches of all kinds, Lutheran,

ran, Calviniſt, and Catholic: there are beſides convents for religious of both ſexes. It is computed that the inhabitants, including all the ſuburbs, are not leſs than eighty thouſand. The environs are uncommonly beautiful.

One day I went to ſee the abbey of Oliva, ſo celebrated for the peace concluded in it. Its foundation is very ancient. Subiſlaus, a duke of Pomerania, who embraced Chriſtianity, erected it in 1170, dedicating it to "the holy and undivided Trinity, the moſt bleſſed Virgin, and St. Bernard." The convent and church were deſtroyed and rebuilt no leſs than eight times; the Teutonic Knights, the Poles, and the heretic Huſſites, all ravaged it; the Dantzic ſoldiery, laſtly, raſed it to the ground in 1577, and were obliged by Stephen Batori to erect it anew as it now ſtands. On a black marble monument in the cloiſters, is commemorated the pacification of Oliva, made between the Emperor Leopold and John Caſimir, king of Poland on one ſide, and Charles Guſtavus, king of Sweden, on the other, who died during the ratification of it.

The monk who attended us, ſhewed me the bread which was converted into ſtone; the ſtory of which is written in Latin, German, and Poliſh, in the church. This pretended miracle happened in 1617, when ſome of Guſtavus Adolphus's Lutheran ſoldiery ſacrilegiouſly preſuming to lay hands on the conſecrated loaf, with intention to devour it, found it converted into ſtone before their eyes. I examined it very minutely, and muſt allow there is great merit in the choice of the ſubject for this deception. It is about the ſize of a twopenny roll, and reſembles one in ſhape. One ſide is indented with a deep hole, apparently

apparently natural, but which was made, they ſay, by the thumb of a Swediſh ſoldier, in the act of laying hold of it. They preſerve it with great care in a ſilver caſe.

The abbot's palace, and gardens adjoining, are very elegant; but his revenues, which amounted, only two years ago, to ten thouſand ducats, or near five thouſand pounds per annum, and the lands of the convent, which he enjoyed in full ſovereignty, are now all ſeized by the king of Pruſſia, who allows him only one thouſand two hundred ducats, about five hundred and fifty pounds, as a penſion during life, and about one-fourth of that ſum to keep the gardens in order: he is by birth a nobleman, amiable and benevolent in his character, paſt the middle age of life, and univerſally reſpected. Humanity feels for ſuch a man, and execrates the rapacity which has thus reduced him!—But this is nothing—this is even generoſity and mercy, compared with other ſtories inconteſtibly authentic, which I heard here, reſpecting the Poliſh nobles, whoſe eſtates have been confiſcated, and their families reduced from a revenue of one hundred thouſand ducats to abſolute indigence, by that monarch.

All the accumulated evils, however, which have laid waſte this miſerable country, are only natural conſequences of its conſtitution and government, in which almoſt every political fault and error is mingled; and one is only ſurpriſed how ſuch a barbarous anarchy has ſubſiſted ſo long.

I left Dantzic on the morning of the 2d of September, taking the road to Culm through Dirſchaw, in my intended route to Thorn. About ten miles to the ſouthward of Dirſchaw, I paſſed cloſe to a prodigious encampment, and alighted from

from my chaiſe to examine it. The poſtillion told me, it was one of Charles XII's. Probably it was made in 1703, when he overran and conquered all Poliſh Pruſſia with aſtoniſhing rapidity. The trenches are of enormous depth, and its ſituation is equally advantageous and delightful, commanding a view of all the plains watered by the Viſtula, and the river itſelf. The ſun ſet as I entered the little town of Mewa, where I croſſed the river in a ferry, and arrived at Marienwerder, through exceſſive bad roads, about midnight. The ſentinels at the gates permitted me to paſs, after having demanded my name, and I drove to an inn, the only one in the city, at which I purpoſed to remain till next morning. It was a conſiderable time before my ſervant could raiſe any one at that late hour; and when the landlord came, he told me every bed in his houſe was already occupied: that if I brought my own, he could give me a room to place it in; but if not, he had not any thing better than clean ſtraw to offer me. I then propoſed proceeding immediately to Thorn, and expreſſed my deſire of being furniſhed with poſt horſes. "May I take the liberty," ſaid the landlord, "to aſk if Monſieur intends to return again, or if he goes farther into Poland?" "I purpoſe," anſwered I, "to continue my route to Gneſna and Poſna; but as to my farther progreſs, it is not yet fixed, as I am unacquainted with the roads and accommodations." "If," ſaid he, you are only induced from pleaſure and curioſity to viſit theſe cities, I would adviſe you to defer your intention till another opportunity: To Gneſna there is at this time no poſt; and though you may perhaps procure horſes to Poſna, yet not only the roads and accommodations are of the moſt

miſerable kind; but at this unhappy juncture, when the province belongs neither to Poland nor Pruſſia, it is not, in point of ſafety, by any means adviſable." I then enquired if there was not ſome great road to Stettin, without returning by Dantzic. On this he informed me, that I had only to go back ten miles, and repaſſing the Viſtula at Mewa, to turn off immediately for Konitz, a town in the province of Pomerellia, from whence I might procure poſt-horſes to Stargard very eaſily, the Pruſſians being completely poſſeſſed of the whole intermediate tract of country, and regular relays being provided by the crown. The ſeaſon of the year, which was advancing faſt, ſuperadded to the uncertainty of procuring even horſes for Gneſna, made me on reflection comply with the landlord's advice. I loſt not a moment therefore in the execution of it, but turning about, and tendering him my acknowledgments for his information, I made the beſt of my way back to the town of Mewa, which I reached by break of day. It is ſituate on the bank of the Viſtula, which at this part is high and rocky; and oppoſite to it, on the eaſtern ſide, are the fields, where Charles XII. routed and cut to pieces about one thouſand five hundred Poles, who vainly oppoſed his paſſage. After travelling twelve miles farther, I reached the abbey of Pipleen, which is accounted one of the fineſt Gothic religious edifices in theſe parts. It was founded by a duke of Pomerania, in the year 1250. This pious duke endowed it very richly; but his preſent majeſty of Pruſſia, who has no ſuch paſſionate attachment as his anceſtors had for monks and monaſteries, lately ſequeſtered four-fifths of their revenue, and leaves them to

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ſing dirges and chant requiems upon the remainder. One of the brothers, a Pole by birth, who ſpoke tolerable French, attended me over the building. The altars are decorated with a barbarous ſplendor, and glitter with gold and ſilver, the king not having as yet laid his hands on theſe ſacred utenſils. I took the liberty of aſking my conductor, to whom belonged a vaſt number of bones, which were preſerved within caſes of glaſs on either ſide the high altar. "They are," anſwered he, "precious remains of the eleven thouſand virgins, who periſhed for their adherence to our holy religion; we had many more once, and among them two complete ſkulls; but the ſacrilegious Swediſh ſoldiery, in the beginning of this century, carried them away." If the depredations of armies were never more fatal, they might eaſily be borne. The monk very politely apologized to me, in the abbot's name, for not inviting me to dine in the refectoire, on account of its being a moſt rigorous faſt, which permitted them not to touch any thing before ſun-ſet, and then only bread and eggs. Having tendered him my humbleſt thanks; and bidding him adieu, I continued my journey, and ate my cold chicken under the ſhade of an oak.

It was ten o'clock at night when I arrived at a little village, about thirty miles from the abbey, ſituate cloſe to a rivulet of water in a valley, and ſo much reſembling Bibury in Glouceſterſhire, as it appeared to me by ſtar-light, that I was almoſt ready to order ſome eels for ſupper. The landlord endeavoured to perſuade me to ſtay till morning, as I had five and-twenty miles to Konitz, through continued foreſts of fir, and deep ſands. I would have accepted his advice; but

the horrid naſtineſs, and peſtilential ſmell reſulting from it, in the cabins, for they cannot be called houſes, at every village where I ſtopped, made it impoſſible to lie down or breathe in them. I therefore proceeded, as ſoon as horſes could be procured, and about nine on the morning of the 4th I got to Konitz. This is a pretty country town, and has been formerly fortified with turrets, battlements, and trenches, all which are in ruin. It was then better guarded by a complete regiment of Pruſſian engineers, who had been ſtationed there ſince its ſeizure two years ago.

I left Konitz before noon, and drove about three miles out of the road, to ſee the ruins of the caſtle of Schlokaw. This is only inferior to that of Marienbourg, and was built by the ſame perſons. It is ſurrounded on three ſides by the waters of a fine lake, acroſs a ſmall part of which is a wooden bridge, of near three hundred yards in length, entering the grand court. It has been of great extent, but time has laid many of its honours low. The chapel, the ſubterranean apartments, and one very lofty octagon tower, are yet in great preſervation, and may remain entire for centuries. I went into the cellars, which are all vaulted, and of wondrous magnitude, running beneath the whole caſtle. One ſplendid range of apartments, repaired by the princes Radzivil, to whom this fortreſs lately belonged, ſerves to ſhew what the magnificence of former ages could produce, though theſe are now following the other parts of the edifice, and are no longer habitable.

After having viſited every acceſſible corner in the building, I waited on the Catholic prieſt of the adjoining village, to procure ſome account of its origin

origin and hiſtory. He was a very agreeable ingenious man, and readily complied with my requeſt. We converſed in Latin; a language in which the Poles are more converſant than all the other nations of Europe. A miſerable cripple in the ſtreets at Konitz requeſted charity of me in very pure Latin, to my no ſmall ſurpriſe; and I found the inn-keepers frequently poſſeſſed of it. From this prieſt I drew ſeveral particulars relative to the origin and hiſtory of Schlokaw. The Teutonic Knights built it in the year 1352, and ſucceſſive grand maſters were lords of it till the middle of the fifteenth century, when the kings of Poland ſeized on it; the order beginning about that era to decline in power and greatneſs. It paſſed afterwards into the poſſeſſion of ſeveral other great families, and laſtly in 1662 to the Radzivils, whoſe deſcendants poſſeſſed it till within theſe two laſt years, when only twelve Pruſſian Huſſars drove out fifty of the prince's Poliſh ſoldiery, and erected the black eagle over the gates.

I ſtopped to dine at Fredlant, a ſmall town about ten miles from Schlokaw, and then proceeded. My road lay acroſs the deſert of Waldow, which is at leaſt forty Engliſh miles in length, and is in general barren and hideous enough. About one o'clock next morning I reached Gaſtrow, a little town in Great Poland, where I was fortunate enough to procure horſes immediately, and got at ſeven to a village called Treidnitz, where I would moſt willingly have breakfaſted, if I could have procured any. The poor man, at whoſe hut I ſtopped to refreſh the horſes, ſaid, he had ſeen no coffee for fifteen years paſt, nor was any ſuch thing to be had in the village; but at Tempelbourg, to which I had only twelve miles, I might

find it. There was no alternative; I therefore proceeded for the town he mentioned, and arrived there about ten, not a little tired.

I paſſed afterwards through three or four little towns between Tempelbourg and Stargard, which is a diſtance of fifty miles. Famine and miſery were in every one: it was with entreaty and difficulty I could procure a bit of ſmoked gooſe and ſome potatoes in one of them; and I was almoſt afraid of being ſtarved in this wretched country. I travelled all night, and to my no ſmall comfort entered Stargard in the morning. The town is pretty large; but the beſt thing I ſaw in it was a good dinner and a clean apartment, which, after my late adventures in Poliſh hovels, had a thouſand charms. The ſtreets were crowded with ſoldiery, and nothing was ſeen but regimentals. The poſtillions who drove me, the friſeurs, the very peaſants, are all military under this government.

Leaving Stargard, I travelled through a moſt hideous wilderneſs of firs. Sweden can produce nothing more deſolate, more unpeopled, or unfertile. The deep ſands render travelling very tedious, and, though I ſet out at four in the morning, I did not get to Stettin, diſtant only twenty-five miles, till one in the afternoon. I paid my compliments next day to his highneſs the duke of Bevern: he is in command of the troops, and is already paſt the autumn of life; but a vigorous conſtitution, and a robuſt frame of body, would deceive and conceal his years, if his hair, grey with age, did not betray the ſecret. He has worn an uniform and boots ſo conſtantly from his early youth, that they conſtitute at preſent almoſt a part of his eſſence. I had the honour to dine with him

him on the 9th: there was a large company, all men, and all military. Every thing around him is in a martial ſtyle, and his very doors are painted with helmets, batons, and ſwords. The apartment where we dined was covered with portraits of the officers of his own regiment; but war had lopped off moſt of them. Of at leaſt ſixty, ſcarce ten were then alive. He ſhewed me what he called his arſenal; a chamber filled with models of petards, mortars, pontoons, and other apparatus of war.

Here I had the honour likewiſe to contract an acquaintance with the young prince of Anhalt Deſſau. His generous and unbounded politeneſs to me, deeply affected my heart. He is alſo in the Pruſſian ſervice; but nature formed him equally for the ſoft arts of peace; and gave him a refined taſte in ſculpture, in painting, and in muſic. The furniture and decorations of his houſe forcibly mark this turn of mind. He has travelled in England, in France, in Italy, and made a campaign ſome years ago againſt the Turks on the banks of the Danube. If to theſe accompliſhments, are added manners the moſt gentle and elegant, one may readily conceive him to be a very amiable prince. I ſupped with him one night *tête-à-tête*; it was one of Horace's *Noctes, cænæque Deûm*, without ceremony, without oſtentation and parade, which are ſo deſtructive to genuine happineſs.

At Stargard, I likewiſe ſaw that fair priſoner, the princeſs royal of Pruſſia, whoſe hiſtory is ſufficiently known. In this, the eye only can be gratified, it being moſt ſtrictly forbidden to approach or ſpeak to her. She was then eight-and-twenty years of age, and had now been a priſoner theſe five years. Her perſon is agreeable, not beautiful.

beautiful. She is of a middle heighth, finely proportioned in her limbs, and very active in all the exerciſes of the body: her complexion is fair, and her features generally handſome. There is, however, ſomewhat ſad in her countenance, when attentively regarded, not difficult to be accounted for. The manner in which ſhe lives is mournful enough, and may well wipe out the errors ſhe has committed. Her appointment amounts only to ſeven thouſand ſix hundred dollars of Pruſſia, which do not make one thouſand two hundred pounds a year, with which ſhe is obliged to provide herſelf every thing. Two valets, and two filles de chambre, conſtitute her houſehold. She has never been permitted to go without the gates of Stettin till very lately. One or two ladies always accompany her, and every female is allowed free acceſs; but there are only two men in the place who dare ſpeak to, or accoſt her. Theſe are the Duke of Bevern, and the governor, an officer yet more advanced in years. The Prince of Deſſau, though well acquainted with her previous to this diſgrace, and though he ſees her every day, aſſured me, he never held the ſlighteſt diſcourſe with her. I muſt own this is a trial to which my fortitude and virtue would be quite unequal; and if placed ſo near ſuch a dangerous precipice, I ſhould inevitably fall. I had the pleaſure to ſee her highneſs on horſeback: ſhe was habited *en Amazon*, and ſhewed the greateſt addreſs in managing the horſe ſhe rode. She ſat aſtride, according to the cuſtom in Germany, and made a very gallant figure. I afterwards looked at her a long time, from the windows of the room where we dined at the prince of Deſſau's, oppoſite to which ſhe walked for ſeveral hours. Her dreſs was by no means princely. A jonquil ſilk night-gown, and her hair

hair very ſimply adorned, gave no room to gueſs her quality.

Of Stettin itſelf, I have little to ſay. There are a great many houſes, and a great many ſtreets, two very large churches, a river, a quay, and, as they told me, a very extenſive commerce. The inhabitants are about ſixteen thouſand. This is the ſum total of my knowledge reſpecting the place.

Before I left it, I attended the parade when the Duke of Bevern reviewed the ſecond battalion of the garriſon. They are, indeed, matchleſs ſoldiers, and perform their various manœuvres with ſurpriſing celerity and addreſs.

On the 11th of Auguſt, I proceeded on my journey, and arrived before night at Prenſlow. This is a large town, ſituate on a lake, and, like almoſt every other in Pruſſia, full of ſoldiery. I had only ſix German miles from thence to Strelitz; but ſo bad were the roads, that I did not get there till almoſt noon next day, though I travelled the whole night. The inaccuracy of their meaſurement is indeed ſuch every where in theſe countries, that it is impoſſible to aſcertain, with any preciſion or certainty, what a mile is. The dutchy of Mecklenburg Strelitz begins only five or ſix Engliſh miles from the town, which is ſo ſurrounded by woods of fir and oak, as not to be ſeen till one is very near it. I ſtaid there three days, induced by the gracious reception I met with from the duke. He was at a little palace of retirement, which he has built about four miles from Strelitz, and named Adolph's Pleaſure. It is ſituate on the bank of a ſmall lake, but the country, except an inconſiderable tract immediately round the houſe, is covered with groves

groves of prodigious thickneſs. During winter he reſides at New Strelitz, where he has a much larger palace, and a court, as a ſovereign prince.

The town of Old Strelitz is ſmall, and as the dukes have not had any palace there for many years paſt, it contains nothing, to draw a ſtranger to viſit it. I left it on the 15th, and took the road of Zell, acroſs Brandenburg. I ſtopped at Mirow, a little town near the frontier of the dutchy, to ſee a palace, where, his highneſs had informed me, her majeſty the queen of England, and all the ducal family were born. It is a handſome ſtructure, but is very rarely viſited by the reigning duke. Continuing my journey all that day, and the enſuing one, through the Pruſſian territories, I arrived on the bank of the Elbe in the afternoon. It is a noble river, though here at a vaſt diſtance from the ſea. I croſſed it in a ferry, and landing on the oppoſite ſide in the dominions of my native ſovereign, got to Danneberg, a little town, the ſame night. The moon ſhone very bright, and as I had yet between fifty and ſixty miles to Zell, I was determined not to loſe a moment. But my landlord expatiated with ſuch eloquence on the badneſs of the roads and the length of the next ſtage, that I was induced to poſtpone my journey till next morning. Setting off at five, I was in hopes of reaching Zell that night: but I was diſappointed, and again obliged to lie at a wretched houſe, where, however, the hoſt, to comfort me, ſaid the preſent king of Sweden, probably from a ſimilar neceſſity, had taken up his lodging ſome few years ago.

I entered Zell the following morning. I had the honour, after being preſented, to dine with her

her majeſty the queen of Denmark next day. I own I had a high curioſity to ſee this young ſovereign, whoſe hiſtory and misfortunes have ſo much intereſted all Europe, who has been driven, in the bloom of life, from a throne and kingdom, which were not worthy of her.

The caſtle of Zell, where her majeſty reſided, is detached from the city, and ſurrounded in the ancient ſtyle of defence, with a very broad moat full of water. It is large, of a ſquare form, and was built by one of the dukes of Zell, before the dutchy was merged in the houſe of Hanover. The country on every ſide is barren, ſandy, and unpleaſant. It is forty miles from Yerden, and as dreary a ride as can be imagined. At a little more than half way, on the ſouthern ſide of the river Aller, is the little palace of Ahlden, celebrated for the impriſonment of the electreſs Sophia, wife of George I. Here ſhe died, a ſhort time before the accceſſion of her ſon, the late king, to the crown. It is ſaid, that he once made an attempt to ſee her, while under confinement, and having ſeparated himſelf from his attendants in hunting, came unexpectedly to the houſe: but the nobleman to whom the care of her perſon was confided, refuſed him admittance, and prevented this natural interview.

The cathedral of Verden is an object of ſome curioſity, from the remote antiquity to which its foundation aſcends, It is ſaid to have been firſt erected in the year 786 by Charlemagne, after his conqueſts over the Saxons. The portraits of all the biſhops, from that era to 1566, when the Lutheran religion ſupplanted the Catholic, are painted on the walls of the choir. I could not help ſmiling at the firſt of them, who was, as it appears

pears by the inſcription over his head, a ſaint, a count, and an abbot; but who, notwithſtanding all his titles, ſecular and eccleſiaſtical, was murdered ſoon after his inveſtiture by the Pagan Saxons, who paid no ſort of deference either to his coronet or croſier. The preſent cathedral is by no means, however, ſo old as Charlemagne: it was built about the middle of the fourteenth century, the former one having been reduced to aſhes in 1313. An antiquarian might find ample food for inveſtigation in it, the whole floor being paved with tombs, on which are effigies and inſcriptions, many of which are now mutilated or illegible. Before the high altar, is a marble monument of coſtly workmanſhip, erected to a Philip Sigiſmund, born in 1568, and who was both duke of Lunenburg and biſhop of Verden. The ſee is now extinct.

Verden was purchaſed by George I. from Frederic IV. king of Denmark, who had rendered himſelf maſter of it, during Charles XII's confinement in Turkey, to whom it previouſly belonged. The town contains only about five hundred inhabitants, excluſive of a battalion of Hanoverian ſoldiery. It lies along the bank of the Aller, but has not any trade, and the meanneſs of the buildings ſufficiently evinces its poverty.

I arrived at Bremen on the 22d of September, which is diſtant only twenty miles from Verden. This is a great, a rich, and a commercial city; but I cannot ſay I think it very agreeable, or that it contains much to attract a traveller's notice. Were human life of double the limits nature has aſſigned to it, one ſhould not be tempted to viſit it more than once. There is one peculiarity, however, belonging to it, which nothing

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but ocular demonſtration could have convinced me of its reality. Under the cathedral church is a vaulted apartment, ſupported on pillars; it is near ſixty paces long, and half as many broad. The light and air are conſtantly admitted into it by three windows, though it is ſeveral feet beneath the level of the ground. Here are five large oak coffers, each containing a corpſe, which without being embalmed, have ſuffered no corruption. I examined them ſeverally for near two hours. The moſt curious and perfect, is that of a woman. Tradition ſays, ſhe was an Engliſh counteſs, who dying at Bremen about two hundred and fifty years ago, ordered her body to be placed in this vault uninterred, in the apprehenſion that her relations would cauſe it to brought over to her native country. Though the muſcular ſkin is totally dried in every part, yet ſo little are the features of the face ſunk or changed, that nothing is more certain than ſhe was young, and even beautiful. It is a ſmall countenance, round in its contour: the cartilage of the noſe and the noſtrils have undergone no alteration: her teeth are all firm in the ſockets, but the lips are drawn away from over them. The cheeks are ſhrunk in, but yet leſs than I ever remember to have ſeen in embalmed bodies. The hair of her head is at this time more than eighteen inches long, very thick, and ſo faſt, that I heaved the corpſe out of the coffer by it: the colour is a light brown, and as freſh and gloſſy as that of a living perſon. That this lady was of high rank ſeems evident from the extreme fineneſs of the linen which covers her body; but I in vain endeavoured to procure any lights into her hiſtory, her title, or any other particulars, though I took no little

pains for that purpoſe. The landlord of the inn, who ſerved as my conductor, ſaid he remembered it for forty years paſt, during which time there is not the leaſt perceptible alteration in it. In another coffer is the body of a workman, who is ſaid to have tumbled off the church, and was killed by the fall. His features evince this moſt forcibly. Extreme agony is marked in them: his mouth is wide open, and his eye lids the ſame; the eyes are dried up. His breaſt is unnaturally diſtended, and his whole frame betrays a violent death.—A little child, who died of the ſmall pox, is ſtill more remarkable. The marks of the puſtules, which have broken the ſkin on his hands and head, are very diſcernible; and one ſhould ſuppoſe, that a body, which died of ſuch a diſtemper, muſt contain, in a high degree, the ſeeds of putrefaction.—The two other corpſes are likewiſe very extraordinary.

There are, in this vault, likewiſe turkeys, hawks, weaſels, and other animals, which have been hung up here, ſome time immemorial, ſome very lately, and are all in the moſt complete preſervation, and unaltered in their parts. The cauſe of this phenomenon is doubtleſs the dryneſs of the place where they are laid. It is in vain to ſeek for any other. The magiſtrates do not permit any freſh bodies to be brought here, and there is no other ſubterranean chamber which has the ſame property. It would have made an excellent miracle two or three centuries ago in proper hands; but now mankind are grown too wiſe.

This city is generally known to be celebrated for its old hock. The wine is all brought from the banks of the Rhine, by land carriage, and de-

poſited in the public cellars These are wondrouſly capacious, running beneath the town houſe and exchange. There is one particular room, called the roſe, where they keep wine, as they ſay, of one hundred and ſeventy years old, and for which they aſk ſeven dollars, or twenty-five ſhillings ſterling a bottle; though it is too old to be drank.

Bremen ſtands on the ſame river as Verden, but here it is known by the name of the Weſel. Veſſels of burden lie twelve or fifteen miles below the city, from a deficiency of water to carry them up higher. It contains forty-five thouſand inhabitants, and, it is ſaid, would even exceed Hamburgh in commerce, if the river was not an impediment. It is a free city, under the protection of the empire, and ſtyles itſelf a republic on its coin. The king of England, as elector of Hanover, has, however, ſome important rights within the place; and not only the cathedral belongs to him, but a conſiderable number of buildings, public and private. He poſſeſſes, likewiſe, a ſpecies of ſupreme judicatorial power; for, though the magiſtrates take cognizance of all crimes, within the territory of Bremen, his delegate or bailif muſt pronounce ſentence.

The fortifications, though kept in very good order, are of no conſequence or ſtrength: the ſtrongeſt army in the field is ever maſter; and during the laſt war, French or Engliſh were alternately received into the place, as they appeared before it. The ſtyle of building, here, is horrid; all the upper ſtories being adapted for granaries, and totally uninhabitable. It has a moſt groteſque appearance to the eye, though many of the houſes are now in ſome degree modernized. The ſtreets are all narrow; the quay is the

only pleaſant part of the city, as it is broad, and commands a view of the water.

By the municipal laws, all the race of Abraham is excluded from the capacity of trading and reſiding here; or at leaſt there is ſo high a duty laid on their perſons, about ten ſhillings a day, as muſt amount almoſt to a prohibition. This excluſion has given riſe to a ſarcaſtic remark on the inhabitants themſelves, which, whether juſt or not, I am no judge. Hamburgh has adopted a contrary policy, and admits, indiſcriminately, theſe people, with European nations. In a lucrative view, I know not which may be the wiſeſt meaſure; but certainly the latter is the moſt generous, and breathes a greater philanthropy.

Plutus and Mercury are the chief deities venerated in this city, and like the ſenate in Tiberius's time, they will not admit the gods of ſtrangers. Pleaſure, under every ſhape, of dance, of comedy, of maſque, ſeems peculiarly hateful. My landlord, however, informed me, that they had lately formed a monthly concert, in the winter ſeaſon, to the no ſmall terror of the burgomaſters, who have endeavoured to proſcribe this unprecedented refinement. The moſt polite manner of ſpending an evening known for ſeveral centuries paſt in Bremen, has been that of meeting in ſmall boxes about twenty feet long and ſix wide, in the public cellar, where they drink hock under a cloud of ſmoke raiſed from their own pipes. One may ſwear theſe are the genuine deſcendants of the ancient Saxons, who imagined the joys of heaven to conſiſt in drinking ale out of the ſkulls of their enemies! Women ſeem not here to hold any rank in ſociety,

or

or to form the connecting charm which binds the jarring principles of human nature together. Man, ſolitary man, meets in clubs and companies, to doze, drink, and to diſpute.

It is a deſolate and dreary ride from Bremen to Hamburgh, acroſs the ſandy and unpeopled heaths of Lunenburg. I got to the ſouthern bank of the Elbe, on the afternoon of the 26th, and from thence enjoyed a beautiful proſpect of Hamburgh at the diſtance of two leagues. It makes a noble figure; and, as the ſpace which ſeparates it from the Daniſh town of Altona, is very inconſiderable, the two places appear to form only one magnificent city, which covers the ſide of the river for three or four miles in length. I lay at Harburg, which belongs to his Britannic majeſty, and croſſed over next morning.

Hamburgh has been ſo often deſcribed, that to attempt it would be only repetition without novelty. Beſides the wind was fair, and I was flattered with a favourable paſſage to Hull, which induced me to ſhorten my ſtay at this place.

In this tour round the Baltic, Mr. Wraxall had travelled near three thouſand miles between the 19th of April and the 30th of September. In that ſhort ſpace, it was not likely he ſhould be able to attend to trivial circumſtances, in ſuch a wide range; nor to enter into minute deſcriptions. But they muſt be faſtidious indeed, who can attend him without pleaſure, or without improvement. Of the various authors that have entered into our extenſive collection, we have found none more difficult to abridge with effect; becauſe his writings contain ſo little extraneous matter; we are even tempted to wiſh that he had expanded more. Yet it muſt be allowed, that

the northern regions preſent ſo little intereſting to general readers, that conciſeneſs can ſcarcely be a fault. Did we not feel the truth of this, we ſhould be happy to travel over the ſame ground again, with the inquiſitive and accurate Coxe, who has accumulated a maſs of obſervations, equally valuable to the politician and the philoſopher.

TRAVELS

TRAVELS IN

PORTUGAL,

CHIEFLY RELATIVE TO SOCIETY AND MANNERS IN THAT COUNTRY,

By ARTHUR WILLIAM COSTIGAN, Esq.

Interſperſed with ſome additional Remarks and Deſcriptions, from Twiſs, &c.

MR. COSTIGAN, we are told, was a captain of the Iriſh brigade, in the ſervice of Spain; and having reſigned his commiſſion from a love of retirement, which it appears the generoſity and affection of a brother in London aſſiſted him more comfortably to enjoy, in his way to England, he ſtopped ſome time in Portugal, and addreſſed a ſeries of letters from thence to his brother, which form the baſis of the following pages.

Unlike the generality of travellers, Mr. Coſtigan is more attentive to domeſtic details, and to ſuch little hiſtories as develope the character of the natives, than to local deſcriptions and remarks on the ſoil and productions of the country. Hence we have been obliged to call in other aſſiſtance for the information of our readers. We do not, however, object to Mr. Coſtigan's plan or performance; he has executed his work with ſome ſucceſs in the mode he propoſed to himſelf; and there-

therefore ought not to be tried by any other teſt. It muſt be obſerved, however, that he gives the dark ſide of the Portugueſe character; perhaps he viewed it through the medium of prejudice, or rather adopted the prejudices of others.

Having, with ſome difficulty, obtained permiſſion to reſign, and taking his leave of his brother officers, with tokens of mutual regard, Mr. Coſtigan proceeded to Cadiz in 1778, where he ſoon after met with an Engliſh officer from Gibraltar, who gave him a paſſage, in a ſmall veſſel he had hired, to the coaſt of Algarve in Portugal. A few hours brought them to Faro; and during this ſhort expedition, Mr. Coſtigan experienced much politeneſs from the Engliſh officer, whom he calls Lord Freeman, and with whom, in the ſequel, he became very intimate and friendly.

Faro is pleaſantly ſituated, environed by a fine, variegated country, riſing gradually to a high ridge of mountains, about two leagues diſtant. The chief trade in this vicinity conſiſts in figs, almonds, ſome wine, oranges, and a few other articles, carried on excluſively, by three or four Engliſh houſes eſtabliſhed here, whoſe gains are immenſe.

Thus, by the natural conſequence of all monopolies, the riches of a country, which ought to be diſperſed among the multiude, centre unfairly in a few private hands; and a ſtop is put to that general circulation, ſo indiſpenſable to the welfare of the ſtate. Our author, though he wiſhes to ſpeak reſpectfully of the mercantile character, ſays, he witneſſed here the extortions of the Engliſh merchants, and their groſs impoſitions on the poorer natives, to a high degree; while the worthleſs and craving magiſtrates, and officers of juſtice,

juſtice, for the ſake of a bribe, ſuffered them to plunder their countrymen with impunity.

Faro was the Oſſonoba of antiquity. An Engliſh fleet, after taking Cadiz, in 1596, landed ſome troops here, which, after plundering and burning the town, carried off the library of the celebrated Jeronimo Ozorio, biſhop of Silves, one of the beſt claſſical ſcholars this country ever produced.

After a ſhort ſtay at Faro, Lord Freeman and our author ſet out for the Guadiana, where they propoſed taking water, for ſome leagues up to the frontiers of Alentejo. Colonel Bagot, a countryman of their own, and at that time commander of a Portugueſe regiment, inſiſted on accompanying them as far as Caſtro Marin.

By the communicative diſpoſition of the French valet, attending Lord Freeman, who is characterized as being extremely amiable, unaffected, and ſincere, Captain Coſtigan obtained a pretty exact knowledge of his companion's family and buſineſs. This information, our author communicates in ſuch an agreeable ſtyle, and at the ſame time the narrative gives ſo much inſight into the intrigues of the Portugueſe, that we adopt his own manner in delivering it.

"Lord Freeman," ſays Captain Coſtigan, "is the eldeſt ſon of a noble family in England, and heir to a large fortune. He is at preſent a captain in the army, and his regiment garriſons Gibraltar. In an excurſion he made to England, the year before, he accidentally met a young lady at an aſſembly, whoſe manner, appearance and deportment, made an inſtant impreſſion on his heart. By frequent viſits, afterwards, a mutual paſſion took place; and that before either had explained

explained to the other, their ſituation or connections.

Lord Freeman, ſoon after, was remanded to his regiment, and finding it impoſſible to procure a prolongation of his leave of abſence, the lovers entered into explanations, and ſettled a plan of correſpondence during their approaching ſeparation, which it was hoped, would not exceed ſix or eight months; as the young lady had received repeated advices from her parents abroad, that they would ſend for her within that ſpace; and her admirer promiſed himſelf the happineſs of joining her as ſoon after her arrival as he could obtain permiſſion from his ſuperior officers.

The caprice of fortune is ſurely in no inſtance more viſible than in the deſtiny of marriages, and in the ſtrange and often whimſical manner in which many of them are adjuſted and concluded. The following circumſtances will give validity to this remark, in one, out of many thouſand, inſtances that might be produced.

Frances Mary Howard, mother of our heroine, and related to an illuſtrious family in England, had loſt both her parents at an early age. She had been ſcrupulouſly brought up, in all the dogmas of the Roman faith; and to bind her from wavering, by the tie of intereſt, ſhe had a fortune left her of twenty thouſand pounds, provided ſhe married a gentleman of the ſame religion, and only one thouſand, if ſhe acted contrary.

Her education conſpiring with her natural diſpoſition, made her a zealous Catholic, and lamenting that her favourite religion was deprived of all its pomp and ſplendor in her native country, ſhe was inflamed with the moſt violent deſire of ſeeing

ing it in all its oſtentatious magnificence, and of profeſſing it free from reſtraint.

Accordingly, when ſhe became her own miſtreſs, ſhe reſolved to tranſport herſelf to the continent, chiefly with a view of ſettling in Spain; becauſe ſhe had heard a high character of that gallant nation, and of its ſteady attachment to the Catholic faith. England and that country, however, being at war, when ſhe arrived at Liſbon, ſhe felt herſelf in a dilemma how to proceed, and accordingly had recourſe to Father Preſton, who at that time acted as her confeſſor.

This crafty prieſt, when Miſs Howard came to conſult him in regard to her future proceedings, immediately ſaw how much this incident might be turned to his own advantage; but pretending to the young lady, that in an affair of ſuch moment, he could not give her his opinion without previous meditation, and imploring the Divine aſſiſtance, he took time to concert meaſures for her detention in that country.

At the next interview, he informed her that he conſidered it as a lucky circumſtance that the war prevented her from going to Spain, as ſhe propoſed, when the door was now open to ſuch an elegant retreat as the court and city of Liſbon afforded. That far from wiſhing to derogate from the advantageous opinion ſhe had juſtly formed of the Spaniſh nation, he would only take upon him to aſſure her, that in no great or commendable quality were the Portugueſe inferior to them; and, that, in conſcience, he could not recommend any ſituation in preference to Liſbon.

His advice being taken, for who are ſo eaſily duped by their prieſts, as the devotees of the Church of Rome, Father Preſton immediately waited

waited on his old patroneſs, the marchioneſs of Pancorvo, and informed her that Providence, ever watchful over its faithful ſervants, had now furniſhed him with an opportunity of expreſſing the ſenſe of the many obligations he owed her, provided ſhe would liſten to his propoſal.

He then entered into a detail of Miſs Howard's ſituation, fortune, and turn of mind; and concluded by pointing out what an advantageous match it would be for the viſcount of Baldiorra, her eldeſt ſon, who was nearly of the ſame age.

The marchioneſs was not blind to theſe proſpects of advantage for her family, and requeſted the father's farther aſſiſtance to conſummate the buſineſs; promiſing him her utmoſt intereſt at court for his ſervices.

The marchioneſs early waited on Miſs Howard, among other ladies of rank who did her that honour, and by the artful inſinuations of the confeſſor, her viſit was firſt returned, when more than common attention was paid to the ſtranger, and a borrowed magnificence dazzled her eyes. The marchioneſs requeſted all reſerve might be thrown off, and conducted Miſs Howard through every apartment of her extenſive palace, making a diſplay of jewels and other rich articles which ſhe had collected, on purpoſe to ſtrike the view of her viſitant. They then entered the family chapel, where they offered up a ſhort prayer; and the marchioneſs propoſed, as a token of her regard, to preſent her at court.

Soon after, Miſs Howard was introduced, in form, to the royal family. The princeſs of Brazil paid her the moſt marked attention, and wiſhed their acquaintance might be of long continuance. To make ſhort, through the aſſiduity of

the marchioneſs and the addreſs of Father Preſton, the way was ſoon paved for a match between Miſs Howard and the Viſcount of Baldiorra, who, indifferent in his choice, followed his mother's directions.

By the marriage articles, it was ſtipulated that the viſcount ſhould receive the intereſt only of the lady's fortune, and that the principal ſhould be equally divided among all the female deſcendants, of whom the only one alive was the lady to whom Lord Freeman was attached.

But to return from this digreſſion, which, however, paves the way to farther details reſpecting this family, our author, in company with Colonel Bagot, Lord Freeman and his domeſtics, ſet out for Tavira, after dining with the Britiſh conſul at Faro; and travelled through a beautiful champaign country, conſiſting principally of incloſed corn fields, interſperſed with various delicious fruits.

Tavira is the Balſa of former times. As they entered this town, ſoon after ſun-ſet, they were met by the Fraternity of the Roſary, who were parading the ſtreets, and ſinging the Terço*, preceded by an image of the Virgin, and many tapers, and followed by a crowd of people in large brown cloaks.

Our travellers alighted and did obeiſance to the idol of the day, and then accompanied Colonel Bagot to the palace of the viceroy, or governor of the province. It was ſometime after

* This is one of the diviſions of the Roſary, which it muſt be underſtood conſiſts of fifteen Paternoſters and one hundred and fifty Ave Marias, ten of the laſt to each of the firſt. But who can explain what is inexplicable!

they were announced, before this ſupercilious grandee admitted them to his preſence, when they found him ſeated under a canopy, in a chair of ſtate, with ſome ſtools before him. After making their bows, they had the honour to be invited to ſit down, as being foreigners; but they were ſoon diſguſted with the ſilly impertinence of his excellency, and haſted to take their leave.

During ſupper, Colonel Bagot informed his companions, that the viceroy, on whom they waited, was a relation of the Marquis of Pombal, the late miniſter, and that he had been placed in that ſituation, on purpoſe to get a ſubſiſtence, his eſtates being in the hands of his creditors. He farther added, as explanatory of the means by which he ſupported ſuch an appearance of magnificence, that, as in ſome parts of Africa, the natives worſhip the devil, for fear of the miſchief he may do them, ſo here, every perſon of any authority in the province, who regards his own ſafety, or wiſhes for any favour from the viceroy, is obliged to ply him with preſents, or rather bribes, which conſtitute his principal income.

On Lord Freeman's remarking that the governor appeared ſhy, diſtant, and ſupercilious; Mr. Bagot aſſured him that, from the deficiency of education in this country, the very beſt of the grandees were obliged to be ſo, to avoid loſing the authority and reſpect due to their ſtations; it being natural for the Portugueſe, when once treated only with common attention, to preſume upon it, till it became quite offenſive and dangerous. And with regard to their behaviour to foreigners, conſcious of their own ignorance, they were prudently reſerved, leſt they ſhould expoſe themſelves to contempt.

Next morning, having made an early breakfaſt on chocolate, they ſet forward for Caſtro Marin, four leagues diſtant. The country through which they paſſed was covered with almond and orange trees, and ſheltered on the left by a range of hill.

In a few hours they arrived at the quarters of Captain Gaynor, an officer in Colonel Bagot's regiment, and a native of Ireland. He received them in the moſt hoſpitable manner, having been apprized of their coming by his colonel.

After ſome refreſhment, they walked to the new town of St. Antonio de Arenilha. This place enjoys a delightful ſituation, on the banks of the noble river of the Guadiana. It has an extenſive and commodious quay, with a ſpacious landing place, and ſtairs, before a handſome cuſtomhouſe.

The buildings in the town are elegantly uniform; the ſtreets are ſtraight and well paved, and croſs each other at right angles, dividing the town into four equal quarters. Two large inns are erected for the accommodation of travellers; and a neat ſquare occupies the centre of the town. On one ſide of this ſquare ſtands a new church, and on the oppoſite, the town-houſe, and other public buildings. The middle of the area is adorned with a large marble fountain, conſtantly ſupplied by a jet d'eau, which throws up the water to a conſiderable height, and conveys the idea of coolneſs and refreſhment in this ſultry clime.

Such was the external appearance of this new and elegant creation of the late miniſter, Pombal; but on entering the town, not a ſoul was to be ſeen in the ſtreets, and very few any where elſe, except a magiſtrate and a ſergeant's guard.

Colonel Bagot informed them, that this place was a ſtanding monument of the miniſter's pertinacious obſtinacy and vanity combined; that he had built it to encourage the pilchard fiſhery, though it was too diſtant from the ſea to anſwer this purpoſe; and that he was farther ambitious to mortify his neighbours and rivals, the Spaniards, without conſidering how much he was expoſing himſelf to their ridicule, by ſuch an uſeleſs erection.

The impropriety of fixing on this ſpot for a town, was early pointed out; but he had gone too far to recede, without wounding his pride; and though he ordered a worthy old judge to report to him, according to his conſcience, which, of two ſituations propoſed, was the moſt eligible; becauſe the judge felt it his duty to prefer the other, at the ſame time ſupporting his ſentiments by irrefragable arguments, he was ſeized and clapped into a dungeon.

The building of the town now went on with vivacity; not a murmur was heard againſt its ſite. The fiſhermen at Monte Gordo, the only proper ſpot for their buſineſs, were ordered to leave their huts, and repair with their families to the new town. They were obliged, indeed, to comply with the firſt part of the command; but the laſt they deſpiſed: to a man they retired into the territories of Spain, where they remained till a change of rulers gave them liberty to reoccupy their former habitations.

It might have been ſuppoſed that the expence of building an uſeleſs town, would have tended conſiderably to drain the royal coffers; but it was no ſuch thing. The miniſter, through his viceroy, in this province, called every man of property

perty into his preſence, explained his majeſty's deſign of building a town, and expatiated on its advantages to the trade and fiſheries on the coaſt of Algarve; adding, that it would be highly acceptable to the king, if each perſon preſent would build ſuch a houſe as ſuited his circumſtances. An inſinuation of this kind, under a deſpotic government, is reckoned equal to a command; and the viceroy, being prepared with the different terms of agreement, got each to ſign a deed, to execute, within a ſtipulated time, the part in this buſineſs he conſented to undertake. No more flagrant proof than this can be produced of the fatal conſequences ariſing from abſolute power, both to the property and perſonal ſecurity of a nation.

They returned to Caſtro Marin, very much fatigued by walking in the heat, and found an excellent dinner provided for them by Captain Gaynor, after which the glaſs circulated cheerfully, till, in the courſe of converſation, it came out, that another officer was likely to be put over the captain's head, as aggregate major; on which his eyes ſparkled with rage, and he uttered a thouſand imprecations againſt his more ſucceſsful rival, abuſing the knaves and idiots who had adviſed ſuch an abſurdity and injuſtice. With this he left the company, threatening to write a letter of abuſe to the ſecretary at war, and to throw up his commiſſion.

Our author and his friends felt much intereſt in Captain Gaynor's fortune, and they requeſted Colonel Bagot would inform them of the prominent features of his military life and conduct, which, with ſome apologies and reluctance, he at laſt complied with.

"Gaynor," ſaid he, "is one of the worthieſt men alive, and ſo full of integrity and honeſty, that thoſe virtues, from which he cannot diveſt himſelf for a moment, have, literally been his ruin in this ſervice. He is as intrepid as Hector, and at the ſame time as meek and tractable as a lamb; but unfortunately for his intereſt, he cannot bear the ſmalleſt appearance of diſingeunity or diſſimulation, and is utterly incapable of dealing with a people of manners ſo different from his own.

He revolts at the leaſt departure from probity and truth, and as he ſcarcely meets with more than their reſemblance here, it is no wonder that the natives regard him as a ſurly, ill-bred being. Add to this, there are few of the Portugueſe officers of any conſequence, with whom he is acquainted, that he has not found occaſion to challenge. Thus he is either feared or diſliked by all of them; and the repeated unfavourable reports that they have whiſpered againſt him at court, have effectually hurt his intereſt there.

"Gaynor," continued the colonel, "was a pretty old ſoldier in 1762, and had ſerved with credit in Germany and America, but came here only in the quality of enſign. He was afterwards promoted to a lieutenancy, and probably would have remained in that ſituation, had I not ſolicited for him the command of the company of grenadiers, when I was appointed to the regiment. The miniſter, not caring to promote a man ſo obnoxious to many of the young nobility of his own proper motion, confeſſed himſelf happy to accept my nomination of a perſon he knew to be an active officer, but whom he could not perſonally ſerve. I ſoon after propoſed him as aggregate major to the regiment, and have continued

tinued ſo to do, with promiſes that he ſhould ſucceed; but at laſt the ſuperintendent for St. Anthony, which ſaint has long had a captain's commiſſion in the regiment, and the annexed pay, has ſucceeded in obtaining the emolument Gaynor wiſhed for. This avowal, added the colonel, may place us in a ludicrous and a contemptible light, but it is the misfortune of our ſituation, not our fault. Knowing it to be a part of my duty, I make the regiment I command attend on the religious ordinances eſtabliſhed in this country; and as every regiment has its patron, ours choſe St. Anthony, who, beſides his commiſſion, has two pence a month from every individual, which ſum is expended in ſaying maſſes for the ſouls of thoſe who die in it, and in celebrating the feſtival of the ſaint. His ſuperintendent, who is a nobleman, and a bigoted blockhead, is the fortunate aggregate major; or rather continues the agent of the ſaint, who enjoys the nominal honour.

On their requeſting to know, what was the nature of the ſervices St. Anthony had performed in the regiment, on the merits of which his farther promotion was founded, the colonel drew from his pocket a bundle of papers, conſiſting of more than fifty certificates of miracles, which the ſaint had performed for perſons in the regiment. They were a collection of the dulleſt and moſt impertinent ſtuff that ever was put together, and were fit rather to excite contempt than laughter. He had reſtored a very favourite lapdog to the major's lady, which had been ſtolen from her, and which ſhe deſpaired of ever finding again, till ſhe implored the aſſiſtance of St. Anthony! He had alſo ſaved a poor ſoldier, who was drowning in a deep river, by miraculouſly throwing

throwing a rope in his way. Another had been recovered from the ſmall-pox by thinking on St. Anthony, after he was given over by the ſurgeon of the regiment.

Colonel Bagot excuſed himſelf from reading any more of thoſe puerile impoſitions; but as a crown to the whole, and a confirmation of all the reſt, and to eſtabliſh St. Anthony's character as a man of honour, and a good ſoldier, he gave the ſuperintendent's certificate in his behalf.

After reciting his own numerous titles, he proceeds; "I atteſt and certify, to all who ſhall ſee theſe preſents, written out by my command, and ſigned at the bottom with my ſign manual, with the broad ſeal of my arms cloſe by, that the Lord St. Anthony, otherwiſe the Great St. Anthony of Liſbon, has been enliſted and held a place in this regiment ſince the year of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt 1668; and I farther atteſt, that the fifty-nine within certificates, with the cypher of my name affixed to each, do comprehend and contain a true and faithful relation of the miracles and other eminent ſervices the ſaid St. Anthony has, at different times, rendered to, and performed in, this regiment, in conſequence of his having a place in the ſame: that, therefore, to doubt the veracity of theſe miracles, is as heinous a crime againſt the Holy Ghoſt, as to doubt any of the dogmas of our holy faith, or the miracles of Chriſt himſelf, the evidences of which are not ſo ſtrong and convincing as thoſe in the preſent inſtance before us*, and by which our bleſſed Sa-

* We are ſhocked, as we write, at the blaſphemy of this deed; but as it is vouched for as genuine in form, we think our readers ought to be made acquainted with the groſs impieties of the Roman church.

viour's

viour's own words are fulfilled, when he told his diſciples that, " after me ſhall come thoſe who ſhall do greater works than I have done," which prophecy clearly pointed to our great St. Anthony. (The certificate then recapitulates many wonderful military ſervices of the ſaint, after which it again goes on) " I do farther certify, that in all the above papers and regiſters, there is not any note of St. Anthony, of bad behaviour or irregularity, by him committed, nor of his having ever been flogged, impriſoned, or any way puniſhed by his officers, while private in the regiment: that during the whole time he has been captain, he has conſtantly done his duty with the greateſt alacrity, on all occaſions, in peace and war, and as ſuch has been ſeen by his ſoldiers, times without number, as they are all ready to teſtify; and in every other reſpect he has always behaved like a gentleman and an officer; and on all the abovementioned accounts, I hold him moſt worthy and deſerving of the rank of aggregate major of the regiment, and of every other honour, grace, or favour, her majeſty ſhall be graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow. In teſtimony whereof I have hereunto ſigned my name, this 25th day of March, in the year of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 1777.

" Signed, MAGALHAENS HOMEM."

To many this might appear like caricature, yet our author aſſures us, that it is litterally matter of fact, and that both in Spain and Portugal, no buſineſs is more ſeriouſly or gravely treated. The opinion ſo prevalent in England, that the clergy in Catholic countries know better things, and only keep the people in ignorance, to poſſeſs the more power over them, is not univerſally true;

true; for many of the clergy, both here and in Spain, are upright in their intentions, and think they are diſcharging their duty; and are the chief dupes themſelves of the impoſtures they ſupport.

Before Colonel Bagot had quite finiſhed reading the major's certificate, Captain Gaynor, whoſe paſſion was quite ſubſided, came into the room, and told him, that the chief magiſtrate of the place, with ſome other perſons, were come to pay their reſpects to him. They all retired into another room to coffee and chocolate, and after ſome unintereſting converſation, the magiſtrate and company took their leave.

Our traveller and Lord Freeman now diſcovered that both Colonel Bagot and Captain Gaynor had been among the unhappy Engliſh officers, who remained in the Portugueſe ſervice ever ſince the campaign of 1762; and that the former, being ſeduced by the proſpect of high rank, and the flattering behaviour of the court at the beginning, had neglected to purſue in time his promotion in the ſervice of his own country, till his proffers of ſervice there were made too late for his readmiſſion upon ſuch terms as he could in decency accept; and by ſuch unworthy and injudicious refuſals, Great Britain loſt the abilities of ſome very experienced officers. The narrative of their efforts to be reſtored to rank in their own country, reflects very little honour, if true, on the rulers at that time; but we paſs it over as extraneous.

After having the juſteſt reaſon to conceive a very high opinion of thoſe two worthy officers, Captain Coſtigan and Lord Freeman took their leave, with many expreſſions of genuine reſpect.

They

They embarked very early next morning, and as the tide was favourable for carrying them up the river, they ſoon arrived at Mertola, the Myrtillis Julia of the Romans. As it preſented no attraction to detain them, they immediately mounted their horſes, and proceeded on their journey. The road was new made, and for the moſt part excellent, but ſo overgrown with brambles, that it was with difficulty they could get along.

Towards night they arrived at the city of Beja, the Pax Julia of antiquity. Here they found little to draw their particular attention. It ſtands on an eminence in the middle of an extenſive plain, eaſily convertible into a fertile track, but which is a dreary and uncultivated waſte, either from the paucity or the indolence of the inhabitants. Lord Freeman had a young prieſt in his train, named John Carlos, who was of great ſervice to them, by acting as their interpreter with the peaſants, whom they found very courteous and communicative; which ſtruck our author the more, as the Spaniſh peaſantry are remarkable for the oppoſite diſpoſition.

The country people informed them, that the road over which they had travelled from Mertola, had been made by order of the Marquis of Pombal, to facilitate the communication with his new town in Algarve, and that it had been performed by Corvée*.

Having reached Evora, they put up at a tolerable inn for the country; and though the meet-

* This is a regulation by which the peaſants, to the diſtance of ſome leagues round, are obliged to give their labour, without the leaſt remuneration from government.

ing

ing between Lord Freeman and our author was quite accidental, they ſeem to have been perfectly pleaſed with each others ſociety; nor was the young prieſt, Carlos, an unacceptable acquiſition, as he poſſeſſed a turn for knowledge, and a quickneſs of parts very uncommon for a Portugueſe.

Evora was the Liberalitas Julia of the Romans, and the reputed birth-place of the famous Viriatus; and for ſome time the reſidence of Sertorius, after he was preſcribed by Sylla. The ſurrounding country is covered with vineyards, interſperſed with corn-fields. Within the walls ſtands a large Carthuſian convent, called the Scali Cœli, or Ladder of Heaven. Here a number of ſelf-devoted gloomy enthuſiaſts lead a life of voluntary abſtinence and unavailing inſipidity, which, by a little cuſtom, becomes ſo habitual, and apparently ſo natural, that the vulgar are deluded into an opinion of their extraordinary ſanctity; and treat them with the utmoſt veneration and reſpect.

As they were taking a walk, towards evening, in the great ſquare, which lies in the middle of the city, and at the foot of an eminence, on which the caſtle ſtands, and were remarking the gloomy ſituation of the ſhops under long deep arches, an old prieſt ran up and addreſſed their companion, Carlos, in Engliſh, who immediately recollected having ſeen him at Liſbon the year before.

The name of their new acquaintance was Dr. Butler, who offered frankly to attend them over the city; and, as it was now growing late, was prevailed on to return and ſup with them. He informed them, that he had lived above thirty years in Evora, and was preſident of the college eſtabliſhed there in the reign of Peter II. for the

education of young ſtudents from Ireland; but that the revenues had been chiefly alienated under various pretexts, and barely left him a maintenance.

The old prieſt was delighted with this opportunity of meeting with any of his countrymen, and gave charge to the landlord to go to his college, and deſire his ſervant to bring him a double flaſk of his beſt wine, becauſe he apprehended that in the inn was not over excellent. Having taſted the doctor's wine, they found it of the firſt quality, and wiſhed to know how he procured it. He informed them that, poor as he was, he had always ſome pipes of it in his cellar; and that he wiſhed he could ſend one of them to his friends in Ireland. He farther ſaid, that if it poſſeſſed any ſuperiority over the other wine of the country, this aroſe from the particular directions he gave in regard to the making of it, a circumſtance he always attended to himſelf.

Having breakfaſted with the worthy doctor, at his college, next morning, they were then conducted by him to the caſtle, moſtly in ruins, but commanding a delightful view over a rich and beautiful country. "What a ſhame it is," exclaimed the old prieſt, "that ſo fine a country ſhould be in the hands of ſuch wretches! No ſoil produces finer grapes or worſe wine, entirely owing to the ſlovenly manner in which it is made. They have not a barrel, or any kind of wooden veſſel in the province; and they keep all their wine in large ill-baked earthen jars, and mix it with lime and chalk, by way of fining it. It is afterwards tranſported, from place to place, in dried hogs' ſkins, ſewed up, and pitched within and without, which renders it unfit for Chriſtians to drink!

See, gentlemen," continued he, "what an extent of country to the ſouthward covered with heath! what would that produce, were it planted with vines, or ſown with corn; for there is not a ſpot but would admit of cultivation!"

They were next carried to the cathedral. Evora is an archiepiſcopal ſee, with a very ample revenue; but the archbiſhop never reſides there. He was inquiſitor general, regent of the courts of juſtice, and held various honourable offices beſides, through the favour of the court, though he was reckoned one of the worſt informed and dulleſt fellows that ever put on the habit of St. Auſtin. They were afterwards ſhewn the college of the Jeſuits, an immenſe building, which, after their expulſion, had been converted into a ſilk manufactory; but, for want of ſupport, ſoon fell to decay, and the fabric itſelf is now running to ruin.

They then took their horſes, and rode out to ſurvey the famous aqueduct built by Sertorius, and which ſtill conveys a noble ſtream of water to the city, ſo excellent and ſo pure, that the inhabitants give it the appellation of the Silver Water. It is brought from a fountain about five leagues diſtant. They alſo noticed ſome traces and remains of the Roman wall, which anciently ſurrounded the city, and which King Fernando had ordered to be thrown down about the year 1380. The modern fortifications are ſo full of breaches, that they can be of no utility as a defence.

The laſt place they viſited in Evora was the Recluſes of St. Bruno, where they obtained ready acceſs by the means of their guide. The ſhelves of their library were filled, as uſual, with the ſame

ſame dull polemical works and legends which are uſually met with among monks. The only book that attracted their notice was a fine folio Homer, which Lord Freeman ſecretly wiſhed to purchaſe; and therefore aſked the librarian what it was. He replied, that he believed it was an old Hebrew or Arabic book, which had remained there from the time of the Moors; but that none of them now underſtood it. His lordſhip now thought himſelf ſure of the prize, and was going to offer money for it; but Dr. Butler interpoſed, and told him, that it was impoſſible to alienate the moſt trifling thing belonging to the houſe.

They now returned to the college, where they were entertained with a collation; and during this, on the urgent requeſt of Lord Freeman, the doctor was prevailed on to favour them with a brief character of the Portugueſe, and a general view of the ſtate of the country.

"In my opinion," ſaid Dr. Butler, "the paralized and conſumptive ſtate of all modern Spain may be traced from the cruel and unjuſt expulſion of the Jews and Moors. The forced converſions too, which Don Manuel was ſo zealous in forwarding, fixed a prodigious quantity of Jewiſh blood in Portugal, which has found its way into moſt of their families of diſtinction, in particular, and is eaſily diſtinguiſhable in their features, tempers, and diſpoſitions.

"One thing which muſt ſtrike every obſerver, is, the ſurpriſing contraſt between the nobles of Spain and thoſe of Portugal: the former are brave, ſincere, and liberal in ſentiment and action; the latter are exactly the reverſe. As you deſcend among the Spaniards, the natural charac-

ter vitiates; in this country, the lower the rank, the perſonal character riſes the higher.

"I wiſh I could, with juſtice, except the royal houſe of Bragança from the general cenſure on the Portugueſe nobility; but the truth is, if ever there has appeared any ſuperior greatneſs of mind in that family, it has entirely originated from fortunate incidents, or the aſſiſtance of others.

"During the laſt reign, a reſolute and overbearing miniſter centred every channel of power and authority in himſelf alone; and a weak and puſillanimous monarch threw himſelf into his arms, as the only perſon in whom he could confide. A perſonal quarrel which the miniſter had with a Jeſuit, who acted as king's confeſſor, added to pre-exiſting cauſes, made him ſeriouſly and heartily ſet every engine at work for the deſtruction of that order, which he at laſt accompliſhed.

"The earthquake of 1755 ſerved only to confirm his authority, and to render it more abſolute. The war with Spain, which followed ſome years after, by ſanctioning the introduction of foreign troops, enabled him to curb effectually an ambitious and domineering clergy. But no ſooner had the diſtinguiſhed officers of other nations brought the Portugueſe army to any thing like diſcipline, than their ſervices were neglected, or even their perſons inſulted.

"The laſt act of this miniſter, when the king, his maſter, was on his death-bed, was to marry the preſumptive heir to the crown, then only ſixteen years of age, to his own aunt, a woman paſt thirty-one. His diſgrace followed; and thoſe who had been impriſoned by his means, being now ſet at liberty, increaſed the popular roar of obloquy againſt him.

"His

"His ſucceſſor had all his bad qualities, without any of his virtues. He exerted only a low cunning to maintain his place in peace, without attempting any thing hazardous.

"The preſent time and government," added the doctor, "muſt not be meddled with; I muſt, however, give my opinion, that the church has too much to do in the political drama, and it is even indecent to ſee the lengths that the queen's confeſſor carries his interference, which muſt diſgrace this government in the eyes of all Europe."

They cordially thanked their kind friend for his ſentiments, and took their leave with expreſſions of mutual regret and regard. As they ſtopped half way to Villa Viçoza to bait, and were ſtretched under the ſhade of ſome pines, a man, mounted on a mule, overtook them with a note from the doctor, incloſing a letter of introduction to a gentleman at Elvas, which he had forgotten to give them at Evora: but which he ſaid might be of ſome ſervice to them.

Having made an excurſion from Villa Viçoza to viſit the banks of the Guadiana, and the garriſon of Olivença, which, though on the Spaniſh ſide of the river, yet belongs to Portugal, they ſlept at a miſerable inn at Jurumenha. In the opinion of the Portugueſe this vicinity is all claſſic ground, as it is the ſcene of their moſt brilliant exploits againſt the Caſtillians.

Mr. Coſtigan ſays, that it was a fortunate circumſtance for him that he met with Lord Freeman, whoſe notion of travelling, and modes of obſervation, were exactly ſimilar to his own; and who, for reaſons that will be explained in the ſequel, was in no haſte to reach Liſbon. The young eccleſiaſtic, John Carlos, was likewiſe a

valuable acquiſition to their party, as his clerical habit was an introduction to the prieſts and friars, and his agreeable and inſinuating manner was ſure to gain their eſteem. They had thus an introduction into convents, and found all their enquiries facilitated.

Arriving at Elvas, where they purpoſed making ſome ſtay, one of the ſentinels at the barrier challenged them, aſking, in a haughty tone, whence they came, and what was their buſineſs. Carlos anſwered, that they came from Eſtremos, and had letters for his excellency the governor. On this they were conducted to the governor's houſe, where they met with the moſt polite reception, and many profeſſions of ſervices. He invited them to dinner at one. Their next buſineſs was to wait on the gentleman to whom they were recommended by Dr. Butler. He was a major general in the army, and chief engineer of the garriſon, and was then abſent, ſuperintending the artificers at Fort La Lippe, but he ſoon returned. His name was La Valeré. He was tall and thin, pretty far advanced in years, but active and vigorous.

When he had read the letter, he bid them conſider his houſe as their home; and while they were talking, the governor ſent a meſſage, deſiring the major general's company to dinner. This obliged them to part for the preſent, that they might dreſs againſt the hour of dinner, which was faſt approaching.

When they entered the governor's houſe, the dinner was ſerving up. His lady, who was the only woman at table, was wrapped up in a long baize cloak, but her hair was prettily decorated with flowers and diamond ſprigs. The governor

was

was alſo in his cloak; and there had been ſome powder thrown on his ancient wire wig. He took his ſeat on the lady's right hand, deſiring Valeré to ſit on the left, and Lord Freeman next. A prodigious fat man, in an officer's uniform, with the croſs of Malta hanging on his breaſt, ſat next the governor. His name was Don Joao, and the company gave him the title of excellency; but he ſcarcely opened his lips, except to eat, drink, or laugh at the jokes of others. The reſt of the company, which was numerous, took their places according to their ranks; the carving knight*, at the lower end of the table, ſerving them round.

The company was ſtiff and ceremonious, nor was the aid of the glaſs called in to exhilarate them; but it ſeemed as if deep draughts of water produced the ſame effect.

At laſt, the governor called for a wine glaſs, into which he poured a thimbleful of that liquor, and drank to the healths of our countrymen, who returned the compliment in full bumpers. One of the prieſts, who ſeemed to be a wag, repeatedly called for wine; on which the lady began to rally him, and told him he drank like a mauregato, or mule driver.

As ſoon as dinner was over, a folding door was opened, and the company paſſed into the next apartment, where the deſſert, conſiſting of ſweetmeats and fruit, was ſet out on a much ſmaller table; for half the company had diſappeared.

The principal luxury of a Portugueſe entertainment conſiſts in the deſſert. Each of the

* An office of honour at court, and in ſome noblemen's families.

company

company takes one or more ſpoonfuls of liquid ſweetmeat, while a ſervant ſtands behind, with a large tumbler of pure water, which is drank off immediately, and, in their eſtimation, is more reliſhing than the fineſt wine.

The company afterwards ate of the different fruits, and drank a glaſs of Malmſey Madeira, which was very ſweet and luſcious. Lord Freeman expreſſed a deſire to ſee Fort La Lippe; but the governor referring to the major general to confirm his remark, aſſured him, that in conſequence of poſitive orders from the court to the contrary, it was not in his power to grant this indulgence. He expreſſed his concern that he could not comply with this requeſt, adding, that they might viſit the whole garriſon and Fort St. Lucia, and deſired the favour of their company on the glacis next day, when he would order out one of the regiments to manœuvre before them.

They did not take their ſeſta*, as the reſt of the company did; but perambulated the ramparts of the garriſon with M. de Valeré. The whole were in good order; and the ſoldiers appeared well dreſſed, and had a martial air.

Valeré offered to introduce them to the nuns of St. Claire, which is reckoned a great compliment; but they declined it; agreeing, however, to accompany him to the biſhop's in the evening, where there was a ſort of aſſembly.

They now diſcovered that the fat gentleman, at table, was colonel of the regiment of cavalry in the garriſon, though he had not mounted a horſe

* This is a ſleep of ſome hours after dinner, during the extreme heat of the day, and is uſual in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and other warm climates.

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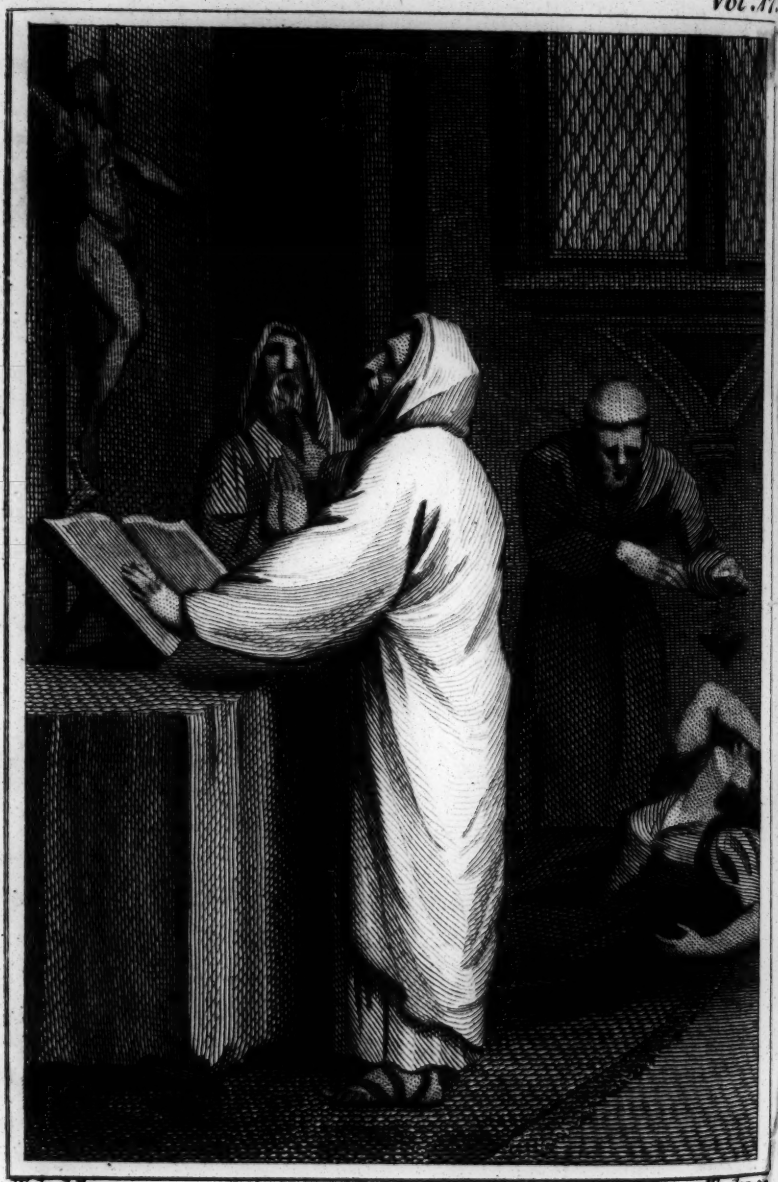

Kirk del Taylor sc

Capuchin Friars reading the Office of Exorcism. p. 181

Publish'd Oct.r 1. 1787. by E. Newbery, corner of St. Paul's.

for ſome years, as it was not poſſible to find one capable of ſupporting his weight. He was of an ancient family, and had the character of being one of the moſt complete topers in Portugal.

Lord Freeman wiſhed to know why ſo great a part of the company retired before the deſſert; and was told, that it was conformable to regulations eſtabliſhed in the army, for ſubalterns to withdraw, before the general ate his ſweetmeat. This is a degrading diſtinction, and may, in ſome meaſure, account for the forlorn ſtate of the Portugueſe army; for where officers are not reſpected, the ſervice will never be in a flouriſhing condition.

In their perambulations, next morning, they happened to ſtumble into the convent of Capuchin friars. On entering, they ſaw two of the friars dreſſed in their ſurplices and ſtolas, ſtanding before the great altar, and reading the office of exorciſm on thoſe poſſeſſed with unclean ſpirits. Before them lay, on the ground, three women, dreſſed in black petticoats, and a ſort of veil, or mantle, which covered the head, and the whole body down to the knees. Two of theſe women howled piteouſly; while the other was tearing her hair, and making ſtrange contortions of her face, particularly when the acolyte, according to the form preſcribed, ſprinkled them with the holy water. In a ſhort time, however, the devil ſeemed to be vanquiſhed; but this is a farce ſo often played in Catholic countries, that it ſcarcely deſerves mention.

On leaving the church they walked into the cloiſter, and paſſed into the garden of the convent, where they ſaw ſeveral of the reverend fathers baſking in the ſun. Making up to the father

ther guardian, they apologized for their intruſion, profeſſing it was curioſity which induced them to viſit his garden, to which they paid ſome compliments. His reverence, on this, became very affable, and ſhewed them the real tea tree growing there, in the open air, in a flouriſhing ſtate. He ſaid it had been planted by a friar, who had been a miſſionary. He gave them ſome of the dried leaves, of which they made tea, and found it very palatable.

As they were proceeding to the biſhop's palace, M. de Valeré informed them, that his lordſhip was deſcended from an Engliſh family of noble extraction, and that he often boaſted he had Engliſh ribs in his body, and would certainly give them a gracious reception, though he was one of the moſt intriguing and miſchievous prieſts in the kingdom.

Being announced at the epiſcopal palace, they were uſhered into a large ſaloon, tolerably well furniſhed, and hung with crimſon damaſk. After ſome time the biſhop entered, preceded by three young eccleſiaſtics, and followed by his two nieces, or rather miſtreſſes. The company paid their reſpects, and our countrymen were preſented, and received with great cordiality. Sweetmeats and glaſſes of water were then handed round; and, ſoon after, tea and coffee.

Cards were then introduced; and the company divided, and formed different tables. After playing ſome time, the aſſembly broke up, and the biſhop took a courteous leave. One of his nieces paid Lord Freeman ſeveral ſecret attentions; which convinced them, that gallantry and intrigue among the ladies were natural to them in this country.

Next

Next day, they were on the glacis at the hour appointed. The firſt regiment of the garriſon was drawn out, and waited for the governor. The uniform was new: blue turned up with ſcarlet, with a white cape and orange-coloured cuffs; white waiſtcoat, and yellow breeches.

The governor came, preceded by all the ſtaff officers of the garriſon, on horſeback. He was mounted himſelf on a fine charger, with a full pique ſaddle, and large embroidered furniture. The line preſented their arms, as he approached, with three ruffs, and the colours dropped. The exerciſe and manœuvres then followed, which were performed with tolerable exactneſs.

That forenoon, our countrymen rode round the environs, as wells as thoſe of Forts St. Lucia and La Lippe with General Valeré. Their converſation naturally turned on the army; and Lord Freeman expreſſed his ſurpriſe that they had not one of the fineſt in the world, conſidering how many natural advantages Portugal poſſeſſed. "Alas! my lord," ſaid the officer, "did you ever hear of an army without officers, or can even a ſingle regiment exiſt without them?" In this reſpect the Portugueſe army is deficient, and ever muſt, from the very character of thoſe who aſpire to commands.

That day they dined with the general, and met the governor and biſhop, with a large party of officers. The dinner was ſumptuous for this country; for the Portugueſe are very abſtemious, except in the article of Sweetmeats. Some of them, however, ſhewed good appetites. Burgundy was freely ſerved round, and healths were circulated, at once to enliven and to ſhew reſpect. When the king and queen of England were given

given, the artillery of the garriſon was heard; and another diſcharge took place on toaſting the king and queen of Portugal. Don John, the fat knight of Malta, was again in company, and drank exceſſively, calling vociferouſly for more wine, which was of a quality he had not often taſted.

The deſſert and coffee being over, they retired to ſleep the ſeſta, which they ſeemed, in general, to have more than uſual occaſion for.

Next day, our countrymen, accompanied by M. de Valeré, rode to Badajox, three leagues diſtant, in Spaniſh Eſtramadura; and inſpected the field of battle of the lines of Elvas, fought in 1658. To aſſiſt their military reſearches, their friend, the general, furniſhed them with an authentic copy of a memorial of the campaign of 1762, drawn up for the information of the king, by Marſhal General Count la Lippe, who commanded the Portugueſe and Engliſh forces, acting on that frontier, againſt the united armies of France and Spain.

The following day, they dined privately with M. de Valeré, who favoured them with a hiſtory of his extraordinary adventures; which, nothing but his known veracity could render credible.

He was born in Picardy, and received his military education at the ſchool of La Fere, under M. Belidor, who recommended him to Marſhal Saxe. This great officer treated him with the greateſt kindneſs, and at the end of his ſecond campaign, which was that of the battle of Dettingen, M. de Valeré, ſolicited and obtained leave to viſit his relations at Amiens.

He had not been long at home, before he had the unhappineſs to diſcover, that a beloved ſiſter

had been courted and abandoned, without any cauſe given, by Baron de Romenil, then a captain of a regiment quartered at Amiens. This ungenerous nobleman had not only forſaken her, but taken liberties with her name. Valeré was fired with indignation—he challenged him, and left him on the *carreau*.

Senſible of his danger, he immediately fled to the protection of Marſhal Saxe, then at Dunkirk, to whom he unfolded his ſad tale, and by whom he was privately ſent to Paris, with a letter of recommendation to the ſecretary at war. In conſequence of this, M. de Valeré received the commiſſion of ſub-engineer of the garriſon of Port Royal, in Martinico, and immediately went on ſhip board at St. Maloes.

In the veſſel were a number of young women, who had bound themſelves apprentices, in the colonies, for a certain number of years. Among the reſt was a Mademoiſelle Joinville, to whom he ſoon became extremely attached, and who admitted him into her moſt intimate friendſhip.

Hitherto fortune had been favourable; but as they approached Cape Finiſterre, a ſudden ſquall carried away their main topmaſt, and part of the bowſprit, and they continued to be buffeted by ſtormy weather till they reached the rock of Liſbon, when the captain declared the neceſſity he was under of entering that port to refit.

They had not been long in the harbour, before the news of their having ſo many young females on board, brought them numerous viſits from French, Engliſh, Dutch, and Portugueſe gentlemen, prieſts, friars, and all colours and habits. In ſpite of all the captain's care, who was bound to deliver his cargo ſafe, theſe gentlemen, in a

ſhort time, carried off the whole, except Mademoiſelle Joinville, who ſaid ſhe would never quit the ſhip while M. de Valeré remained in it.

Meanwhile the repairs went on, and they were frequently viſited by the captain of a Portugueſe man of war, and another young officer, who paid particular attention to Miſs Joinville; but nothing particular ſeemed to paſs between them. Juſt as they were about to ſail, the captain, M. de Valeré, and Miſs Joinville received an invitation to dine on ſhore, at the young officer's houſe. The captain excuſed himſelf; but the other two went; and as ſoon as they landed, were put into a carriage, which was ordered to follow another carriage. They drove with great rapidity for about an hour, then changed mules and drove as before, changing cattle a ſecond time before they ſtopped. At laſt they entered a court yard, ſurrounded by a very high wall: Miſs Joinville was conducted up ſtairs, while M. de Valeré was carried into a kind of cellar, where he was confined, and civilly treated for three months; and then was promiſed his liberty, on taking an oath never to mention the circumſtances of his impriſonment, which he was given to underſtand was contrived by the young lady he came in company with.

Having complied with all that was demanded of him, he was put into a cloſe carriage with a ſmall ſum of money in his pocket, and, after driving ſome hours, when it was dark, he was taken out, and wiſhed a good night. He found himſelf on the quay of a ſmall river, about two leagues from Liſbon, to which he proceeded as ſoon as poſſible.

Here

Here he was like a man dropt from the clouds, neither knowing whence he came nor what to do. His uniform was become ruſty, and he had not changed his ſhirt for three months. He found his way, however, to the French ambaſſador's, and got ſpeech of his maitre d'hotel, who, caſting a ſupercilious look at him, as ſoon as he began his ſtory, aſked if he had brought any papers, or letters of recommendation.

M. de Valeré had ſaved nothing of this kind; and frankly confeſſed it; on which he was told that he was an adventurer, and threatened with being ſent to the gallies, if ever he appeared there again.

Reduced to the laſt diſtreſs, he was glad to enter into the family of a nobleman to teach his ſon French; and, at length, by perſeverance and intrigues with ſome of the principal female domeſtics, one of whom he married, he obtained a captains commiſſion.

It is impoſſible, in this work, to attend him through all the viciſſitudes of his fortune, after he entered into the army. The Count la Lippe found him poſſeſſed of much military knowledge and merit, and warmly patroniſed him; but when he retired from the Portugueſe ſervice, the mortifications La Valeré underwent, would have broken the heart of any but a Frenchman. Cabals, intrigues, falſe accuſations, and every ſpecies of injuſtice imbittered his life. Zealous, however, for the ſervice in which he was employed, and conſcious of integrity, he bore them all; and now advanced in years and taught by experience, he continued to ſerve a nation he had reaſon to deſpiſe; but he found it impoſſible, from the degraded ſtate of the army, to ſerve it with

effect, and therefore yielded to circumſtances he could not prevent.

Having detailed the principal adventures of his eventful life, he concluded thus: "Judge then, gentlemen, what a ſituation I muſt be in; and what intereſt I, or any man of feeling or honour, can have in ſuch a ſervice: For my own part I am totally indifferent about it, though I am obliged to continue in it, for the ſake of my family. I ſhall, therefore, endeavour to rub through in the beſt manner I can; and, as I am now old, any hole will ſerve a man to die in."

By the time M. de Valeré had finiſhed his narrative, it was growing late; and, as our author and his friends had diſpoſed every thing for leaving Elvas next morning, they ſoon after bade their entertaining hoſt adieu, with the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of his politeneſs and his merit.

Next morning, they left the garriſon of Elvas, and employed more than fourteen days ſucceſſively in viſiting all the poſts and ſituations mentioned in the campaign of 1762; undergoing much fatigue in traverſing ſuch a rugged and barren country, where often they could not find ſo much as a bit of bread for themſelves, or forage for their horſes. The peaſants, however, were every where courteous, and prompt to render their beſt ſervices.

Having examined the intereſting grounds on both ſides the Tagus, particularly the famous paſs of Villa-Velha, they arrived at the town of Caſtel Branco, where they reſted ſome days; and then continued their route by Penamaçor, Sabugal, Covilham, and Alfayates, to Almeida; for the moſt part through a rocky ſteril country.

On arriving there, they were conducted from the barrier to the officer commanding in the place, who interrogated them, in a haughty tone, reſpecting their buſineſs. They told him they had letters for the king's lieutenant; but they found this gentleman was gone out on a ſhooting party, and that it was not known when he would return. Diſguſted at the uncivil reception they met with here, they puſhed on immediately by the Douro road, and paſſing Caſtel Rodrigo, they came to a poor village when it was quite dark; and put up at a wretched inn, where they could find nothing but ſhelter, either for themſelves or their horſes.

Fortunately, however, their friend, the young prieſt, in his rambles round the place, diſcovering a houſe of better appearance than the reſt, boldly knocked at the door, and entering into a large hall, ſaw a table ſet out for ſupper. Carlos congratulated himſelf at the ſight, and, on enquiry, found it was the curate's houſe; but that he had been lent that night to the king's lieutenant of Almeida, to whom he immediately procured an introduction; and then ran to tell his friends of his ſucceſs. They all had a plentiful ſupper at the head quarters, pleaſant company, and tolerable accommodation as to beds.

Next morning, they wiſhed to reſume their journey to the Douro; but the king's lieutenant inſiſted on their returning with him to Almeida, and added ſuch inducements, as to amuſement and company, that they yielded to his ſolicitation.

Almeida ſtands on the top of a very high mountain, on the frontiers of the province of Beira, and but a league and a half diſtant from the Spaniſh caſtle, in the kingdom of Leon. The town is

well fortified, and has two gates, with a quadrangular caſtle in the middle, and handſome barracks.

After dinner, they walked round the ramparts, and viſited the garriſon, but found nothing new in military matters, after ſeeing Elvas.

The king's lieutenant of Almeida, was a native of North Britain, an old and worthy officer, who had ſerved during the courſe of two wars in the armies of his own country; and had been induced, like many others, to remain in the ſervice of Portugal, where he was eminently uſeful, till the death of the late king; at which period, being diſſatisfied with his ſituation, he attempted to return to the ſervice of his own country, but without ſucceſs.

He was, however, ſo far fortunate as to be eſteemed by the adminiſtration that was formed after the deceaſe of the king, on account of the diſtinguiſhed candour and undeſigning integrity of his character.

Our travellers ſaw into the diſpoſition of this officer at once; for it was open as the day without the ſhadow of guile or deceit. They met likewiſe, with another officer who was here on a viſit, an Engliſhman of the name of St. Amour. This gentleman had a clear judgment and comprehenſion; but was impetuous in his temper, and addicted to ſatire, which he freely vented againſt the clergy, nuns, and friars, whoſe hypocritical and immoral lives furniſhed him with abundant ſcope for the exerciſe of his talent.

They found another character here, Colonel Macilphan, an Hibernian originally, but who had ſo long left his native country, that his brogue was almoſt the only memento he retained of it. He ſtill preſerved,

preſerved, however, all the reſolute firmneſs of his countrymen; and after having fought to very little purpoſe, in the character of gentleman cadet, in the Iriſh brigades, both of France and Spain, he paſſed over to Portugal, at the breaking out of the war in 1762; and ſignalized his entry into the ſervice, by terrifying a paymaſter into his duty, which ſpirited conduct gained him great credit with Count La Lippe. By the patronage of that diſtinguiſhed judge of merit, he roſe in the army; and had lately formed an advantageous match with a young Portugueſe heireſs, which ſet him above dependence on his profeſſion.

The laſt gentleman officer Mr. Coſtigan mentions at Almeida, was Brigadier Forbes. He had formerly made himſelf remarkable by a rencontre with Mr. Wilkes at Paris; and when he arrived firſt in Portugal, he was conſidered as a tilter; but a very ſhort experience of the propriety of his conduct and character, ſoon convinced the world, that he was as incapable of giving an affront, as of tamely receiving it from any man. After many difficulties, he had at laſt matched himſelf to a lady of high rank and family.

Brigadier Forbes and Colonel Macilphan favoured our travellers with a very entertaining account of their adventures in Portugal, and confirmed what they had every where heard of the degraded ſtate of the army in this country; but a narrative of Major St. Amour, relative to what had lately happened in the garriſon to which he belonged, exceeds all that ever was recorded in the annals of military infamy, and deſerves to be laid before our readers, which we do in that gentleman's own manner.

"The

" The perſon whoſe baſeneſs and whoſe crimes form the hiſtory I am about to give, is a native of Bragança, and was married and eſtabliſhed there. He was hereditary civil governor, or conſtable of the town, ſuperintendent of the cuſtom-houſe, a lieutenant of a regiment of cavalry, and the lazieſt drone that ever diſgraced a cockade. By means of falſe certificates of ſickneſs from the ſurgeons or phyſicians, or by ſurreptitious leaves of abſence, he contrived generally to eſcape the duty of his regiment. But he was not idle in other reſpects—he contrived to introduce himſelf to a convent, where he debauched a nun, and having continued his furtive viſits till ſatiety bred diſguſt, he then paid his addreſſes to another nun in the ſame convent, and ſiſter to the former, with whom he had equal ſucceſs.

The jealous and forſaken nun, ſoon diſcovered this ſecond intrigue, and out of revenge, communicated her ſuſpicions to the biſhop of the dioceſe. A plan was concerted to detect the ſacrilegious intruder, and he was found within the precincts of the nunnery, concealed under a pile of faggots, and carried priſoner to Chaves. Here he was tried by a court-martial; convicted, and ſentenced according to law. The ſentence, as is uſual, was tranſmitted to court for approbation, and was thrown under the table, to ſave the trouble of making any remarks on it.

After being a long time a priſoner at Chaves, the governor at length, as a ſpecial favour, allowed him to walk through the town on his parole of honour. By way of amuſement, he ſeduced a married woman, prevailed on her to poiſon her huſband, that they might have no interruption, and then eſcaped into Spain.

Our

Our gallant remained with his miſtreſs at no great diſtance from the frontier garriſon, living on his rents, which were regularly remitted to him. The miniſter was ſo provoked when he heard of the complicated villainy of this wretch, that he ſent particular orders to the governor of Chaves, to have him hanged in effigy, in preſence of the whole garriſon under arms, and that his perſon ſhall be declared infamous.

" At the very commencement, however, of this preſent promiſing adminiſtration, that ſame infamous perſon returned to Liſbon, furniſhed with ſuch powerful letters of ſolicitation, that her moſt Faithful Majeſty was pleaſed to grant him a plenary pardon for all his atrocious crimes and miſdemeanours. But as if ſhe thought ſhe had not ſufficiently ſignalized her conſummate weakneſs and ſhameful lenity, ſhe has replaced him, by a new commiſſion, in the ſame poſt of the ſame regiment, which by a ſentence of a court-martial he loſt, ordering it to be ſignified to the regiment, that ſhe would ſeverely puniſh any officer who refuſed doing duty with him. For this commination, however, ſhe had no occaſion; for none of them were found delicate enough to ſcruple aſſociating with him, though there are three brothers of the two nuns he debauched, in the convent, conſtantly doing duty in the ſame regiment.

" To crown all, the generous queen ordered every note or entry of this officer's deſertion, and of the court martial held on him, to be eraſed from the regiſters, that there might exiſt no future remembrance of ſuch infamous proceedings."

Though

Though it was late when Major St. Amour finiſhed his narrative, and they were all to ſet out next morning for the banks of the Douro, they could not part without ſome remarks on ſuch nefarious conduct in government. But from concurrent teſtimonies and proofs, it appeared, that under ſuch a wanton deſpotiſm, law was of no manner of uſe, but to be inſulted, or at beſt, to be treated as a dead letter :—That many ſalutary laws had been promulgated on a variety of ſubjects, but that they were rather calculated to anſwer ſome particular purpoſe at the time, than to be of general or permanent utility.

Next morning they arrived to breakfaſt at a village on the banks of the Douro, called St. John da Paſquiera. Having obſerved the mountainous and rugged banks of the rapid Douro on both ſides, and learned that the roads were rough and uneaſy to Porto, they reſolved to hire a boat to carry them thither; and accordingly embarking, they reached that city in the evening, and by the preſſing ſolicitations of the Britiſh conſul, they took up their quarters with him, as he had been apprized of Lord Freeman's arrival, by letters both from London and Liſbon.

The foreign merchants, eſpecially the Britiſh, who are by far the moſt numerous, not only live in affluence themſelves; but the natives follow their example, and are become more ſocial and polite, than even in the capital.

The conſul was a moſt entertaining companion, verſatile, ſprightly, and communicative, and had an admirable ſkill in adapting himſelf to the preſent company, of whatever nation or language it was.

Being

Being a ſingle man, though pretty far advanced in life, his eſtabliſhment was ſmall, though he occupied a very ſpacious houſe. His domeſtics conſiſted of an old Portugueſe beldam paſt eighty, and a young Galician boy. He had a large collection of books on many different ſubjects; and when he invited his countrymen to take up their reſidence with him during their ſtay, he ſwore he could find them nothing but clean beds and a breakfaſt; as for dinners and ſuppers, it was the buſineſs of the city to provide them; and indeed they had ſo many invitations of that kind, that it was impoſſible to accept them all.

The library was always open, and as it was well ſtocked with books ſuited to all taſtes, they generally ſpent ſome time there in the morning. The young prieſt, John Carlos in particular, was quite tranſported with this opportunity of improving himſelf; and the conſul was ſo pleaſed with his ingenuous manners, that he readily aſſiſted his ſtudies.

The conſul, being a man of ſcience, had formed an obſervatory, and was well provided with inſtruments. He was in the habit of making experiments in electricity and optics; and on this account, had twice received the honour of a viſit from the commiſſaries of the holy inquiſition at Coimbra; having been reported as a magician, who by the help of the devil, drew the thunderbolts from the clouds into his own garden. It ſeems he had fixed a long bar of iron horizontally over his houſe, from one end of which was ſuſpended an iron chain, which reaching a flower plot under his windows, the lightning had ſeveral times in a thunder ſtorm, made ſmall holes in the ſoft earth, and on one occaſion, had ſcat-

tered his flowers, about and made a conſiderable opening.

This was much talked of in the city, and the prieſts, with their uſual ignorance, had reported him as practiſing the black art; but the commiſſaries of the inquiſition, being men of candour and reflection, were convinced of the innocence of his purſuits and even much entertained by his philoſophic ſtudies.

In the company of this gentleman, our author felt himſelf perfectly happy; but he had reaſon to expect this pleaſure could not be of long duration, as Lord Freeman, whom he was determined not to leave, was in hourly expectation of being ſummoned to Liſbon. His lordſhip had confidentially informed him, that he had lately received letters from a faithful ſervant, ſtationed at Liſbon, in which he was made acquainted, that his deareſt Donna Lucretia, after recovering ſafely from the ſmall-pox in England, was ſoon expected in Liſbon; and that he had been, hitherto, employing the interval of their ſeparation, in viſiting the different parts of Portugal, merely to fill up the time agreeably.

One evening they were invited to an aſſembly, at the houſe of a Portugueſe nobleman, who much affected the company of the Engliſh. After tea, coffee, and ſweatmeats had been ſerved in abundance, a conſiderable part of the company ſtood up to country dances, while the reſt retired to two adjoining apartments, where card tables were placed.

At one of them the eldeſt ſon of the family held a faro bank, which ſoon drew much company to it. After playing ſome time at this game, our author, in looking round the table, to his ſurpriſe,

priſe, ſaw three or four of the domeſtics, who had ſerved them with tea and coffee, ſeated familiarly at the table, and punting and converſing on the moſt intimate footing. Mr. Coſtigan remarked this ſeeming impropriety to the conſul, who aſſured him, it was the univerſal cuſtom here; and ſaid the Portugueſe were ſhocked at the improper and ſevere diſtance at which the Engliſh kept their ſervants, treating them more like ſlaves than humble friends and attendants; whereas they thought, gentle and familiar treatment bade much fairer for conciliating their affections and inſuring their fidelity. There certainly is much humanity in this theory; but how far it is poſſible to carry it into practice among Engliſh domeſtics, is no eaſy matter to determine.

Soon after their arrival at Oporto, the governor carried them to pay their reſpects to the chief governor of the city and diſtrict. His excellency was old and infirm, and almoſt worn down to a ſkeleton, but had a monſtrous prominent eagle noſe. His capacity was very weak, and talents he had none; yet he was a well meaning man, and ſeldom did harm if he did no good, which is ſaying much for a Portugueſe fidalgo.

His lady was alſo pretty far advanced in years, but reckoned ſenſible and polite. She had formerly been handſome, and literally painted up to the ears; for the latter were of the ſome red hue as the reſt of her face. She had been thrice married, and had brought more than twenty children into the world, who, in the maſculine line, were all remarkable for an invincible ſtupidity; and in the female, for a turn for gallantry and intrigue.

Porto, or Oporto, as it is generally called, is the ſecond city in the kingdom, and is ſaid to contain thirty thouſand inhabitants. Many Engliſh families reſide here, who are chiefly engaged in the wine trade. The factory maintains a clergyman, who officiates at each houſe in rotation.

Oporto and its ſuburb, Villanova, are each built on a hill, with the Douro running betwixt them. There is no bridge over this river, becauſe it is apt to overflow its banks, and to increaſe with ſuch rapidity, that no ſtructure could withſtand its impetuoſity. Even ſhips are ſometimes forced out to ſea by it, and loſt on the ſands, or daſhed againſt the ſhores.

Chairs and litters are commonly uſed here in bad weather; and the boats on the river have an awning, like the Venetian gondolas.

The merchants aſſemble daily in the chief ſtreet to tranſact their buſineſs, and are protected from the ſun by ſail-cloths hung acroſs from the oppoſite houſes. The chief article of commerce, is wine, of which twenty thouſand pipes are annually exported, eighty thouſand are the uſual annual produce; ſo that three-fourths are conſumed in the country. Some of the wine vaults belonging to the merchants are capable of containing ſix or ſeven thouſand pipes.

Our travellers viſited the great cathedral church, which is an old extenſive building, without ſymmetry, and conſiſts of many parts patched together without deſign. Even did it poſſeſs any beauties, its ſituation is moſt unpropitious for a diſplay of them.

They entered another church without the walls, denominated that of the poor clergy. It has a tall, ill-proportioned ſteeple, which has been

raiſed at a vaſt expence. The inſide is ornamented, or rather disfigured, with a profuſion of carving and gilding, without the ſhadow of taſte or arrangement.

They next came to the church of the barefooted Carmelites, a new ſtructure, the whole front of which is covered with carving in ſtone; but in the ſame bad taſte. The pediment is crowned with three monſtrous and ill-proportioned figures, repreſenting Faith, Hope, and Charity. Within are thirteen different altars, all very richly ornamented up to the very roof, but in the moſt taſteleſs ſtyle.

The great Franciſcan convent, almoſt oppoſite to the conſul's houſe, is a new fabric, and conſiſts of two large ſquares, of four ſtories high, with a ſpacious and well-lighted corridor in the centre of each, and the cells of the friars on each ſide, to the number of two hundred and fifty. The friars, as ſoon as they ſaw the Britiſh conſul within their walls, crowded round him out of reſpect. The father guardian was a tall ſtout man, with a pair of ſpectacles before his great goggle eyes; and his thick yellow cordon had five large knots on it, in commemoration of the five wounds of Chriſt. He gave the conſul a hearty embrace, expreſſing his pleaſure at ſeeing him, and that he wiſhed for ſome more of his advice in finiſhing the buildings of the convent, which he ſaid he was afraid could not be concluded within his triennial adminiſtration; as the friars now brought him little more than was neceſſary for the daily ſubſiſtence of the convent. He complained that he had no time to think of his own ſalvation, from the neceſſary vigilance to keep the young friars from rambling, and to ſend the old ones to

preach, and bring back charities to the convent; and that, what between the gadding diſpoſition of the young friars and the lazineſs of the old, his choir was never more than half full.

The conſul heard and condoled with him in his pious labours, and encouraged him to proceed in the ſame reſolution; aſſuring him he was convinced that it was by the interpoſition of the ſeraphic St. Francis himſelf that his reverence had been called to ſuch a perilous and difficult charge, in ſuch critical times; and nothing leſs than his profound judgment and capacity could be equal to ſuch a taſk. This laſt compliment ſeemed to tickle the vanity of the father extremely, and as it was impoſſible to ſay a better thing, they took their leave.

On coming out, they obſerved engraved over the great gate of the convent, in capital letters in Portugueſe, "The Virgin, our lady, was conceived and born immaculate, and without original ſin." This is a favourite tenet among the Spaniards and Portugueſe, and has occaſioned as much ill blood, as if it were an article of belief abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. The folly of controverſy was never more egregiouſly diſplayed than in the defence and attack of this unmeaning doctrine; but it would be tedious and diſgraceful to human intelligence to enter into its hiſtory.

In their various perambulations round the city, their notice was attracted by a large maſſive building, very high, with iron grates and bars before the windows. This the conſul informed them was the tribunal of the high court of juſtice for the city, and all the northern provinces of the kingdom.

Lord

Lord Freeman obſerved, that he did not think it a favourable indication of diſtributive juſtice, to ſee ſuch ample proviſion made for criminals and priſoners; and aſked if there was a general jail delivery from time to time? The conſul aſſured them there was no ſuch thing; that in almoſt all civil ſuits and litigations, ſentence was obtained in favour of that perſon who could muſter moſt empenhos; that in criminal proceſſes, when ſentence is duly paſſed, it is ſeldom executed, unleſs when a culprit is declared innocent; for then, with a ſmall empenho, he may obtain his liberty; and even when capitally convicted, he can by the ſame means, obtain a perpetual prorogation of the execution of the ſentence.

They requeſted the conſul would inform them what the meaning of an empenho was, for they did not underſtand it. "An empenho," replied he, "is an act, whereby a perſon in habits of friendſhip with another, inveſted with power, interpoſes earneſtly in favour of a third perſon, moſt commonly a worthleſs character, in order to obtain for him, againſt charity, reaſon, and juſtice, ſome ſpecial grace he does not deſerve, or to avert the pains and penalties he may juſtly have incurred."

"But," added he, "I will explain this to you by an example. Two couſin-germans of this province of Entre Douro e Minho, both men of ſome property, one a private gentleman and the other an officer, entertained a violent jealouſy of each other on account of a lady. This jealouſy roſe to ſuch a height, that the private gentleman, accompanied by his ſervants, one day waylaid his couſin the officer; and finding him without arms, or any means of defence, ordered him to be horſe-

whipped by a negro. To this affront he was obliged to ſubmit; but after he had received the ſtripes, he laid hold of his beard, and told the aggreſſor, that ſuch an atrocious injury ſhould not be forgotten. The other perfectly underſtood the meaning of his ſign and expreſſions; and immediately abſconded for the ſpace of three years.

"At the expiration of that period, thinking his couſin's rage muſt have ſubſided, he returned to his eſtate; but never ventured abroad but in the ſame litter with his ſiſter, ſuppoſing ſhe would be his protection from the cavalier; who, from the time that he was horſewhipped, never appeared more in the regiment, never heard maſs, and never ſhaved his beard, having ſolemnly ſworn he would do neither till he had wiped off his diſgrace. All the while he was ſkulking about the country in the dreſs of a hermit; and having found that his couſin was returned to his country houſe, he got together ſome companions, and attacked him one evening near his own home, while his ſiſter was in the litter with him. Stopping the vehicle, he politely deſired the lady to alight, as he had ſome buſineſs to ſettle with her brother; and as ſoon as ſhe complied, he drew a a piſtol from his ſleeve, and ſhot his couſin through the head, diſcharging a ſecond through his heart, as he lay weltering in his blood.

"With the moſt perfect ſang froid, he then aſked a thouſand pardons of the lady for interrupting her; and begged to know whither ſhe wiſhed to be conducted. She told him to a certain nunnery, about ten miles off, where, having ſafely lodged her, he took his leave.

"This done, he returned to his regiment, reported himſelf again fit for duty, dreſſed and appeared

peared on the parade as uſual; and made no ſecret of the horrid tranſaction in which he had been engaged. The nobility juſtified and applauded him; and obſerved that a man of birth and education could do no leſs, to vindicate his reputation.

"Mean time my friend, the colonel of the regiment, received the whole proceſs and depoſitions relative to the murder, on which the civil magiſtrate of the diſtrict is by law enjoined to proceed within a limited time; and if the delinquent is in the army, the magiſtrate then remits the proceſs, duly ſigned and ſealed, to the commanding officer of the regiment, in order to his being there tried according to the articles of war.

"As ſoon as it was known that the colonel of the regiment had received the proceſs, a nobleman of this city, knowing the intimate footing I was on with the commanding officer, came to me, requeſting a ſtrong letter of empenho to him, deſiring that he would by no means proceed to a court martial againſt the culprit, who, he ſaid, was a nobleman, and had behaved in this affair like a man of honour; and that beſides, he was nearly related to his wife, who joined in ſoliciting this favour of me.

"I was ſenſible it was in vain to argue this matter with him, ſo ſtrong are prejudices here, and ſo rooted are falſe notions of honour and courage. However, I could not refrain from telling him my opinion of it: which I aſſured him would be that of my friend the colonel alſo. I told him, that a perſon who was guilty of ſuch a daſtardly murder, ought to be hunted from ſociety; and that I was certain, ſhould the gates of hell open before the eyes of my friend, the command-

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ing officer, he would not ſhrink from his duty, nor regard empenhos.

"The nobleman coolly replied, Mr. Conſul, you are well acquainted with the manners and prejudices of this country, and every country has its prejudices. You know there is no reſiſting a letter of empenho, even to a beggar, and much leſs to a perſon of my rank and conſequence; that ſuppoſing my wife's relation to be really the wretch you paint him, he has for that very reaſon the more need of protection; that a man of virtue and probity has ſufficient ſecurity in his own character; and that, when I once grant my intereſt and protection even to a criminal of the blackeſt dye, the queſtion runs no more on the merits or demerits of the party; but it is whether or not my authority is to be regarded or reſpected by the perſon I apply to, and in whoſe power it is to protect that criminal from the rigour of the law."

"I continued to aſſure him, that my letter would be of no uſe in this caſe: 'no matter for that,' ſaid he, 'give it me—the reſt will be at your friend, the colonel's peril.' Such gentlemen, added the conſul, is a true and home example of the nature of an empenho. The criminal, after a long impriſonment, at the commencement of the preſent reign, was not only pardoned, but reſtored to his rank." On this miſerable proſtitution of juſtice and right, it is needleſs to make any remarks!

Having ſatisfied their curioſity in the city and environs, they reſolved to take a more diſtant excurſion into the country; and directed their courſe, firſt to Villa de Conde. The whole province ſeemed better peopled and cultivated than any other

other they had ſeen in Portugal; probably ariſing from the ſpirit of commerce at Oporto, which ſpreads over the whole.

The convent of nuns was the only object at Villa de Conde worth notice. In it the beſt female blood of the province reſides; for the nobility being miſerably poor and proud, rather than match their daughters with thoſe beneath them, force them into this convent, to ſtarve in character, regardleſs of their inclinations.

Remounting their horſes, they took the road to the ancient city of Braga, the Bracara Auguſta of the Romans, which lies about ſix leagues from the coaſt. The road was pleaſant, and chiefly lined with the dwarf oak, entwined with the vine. The plains between the high grounds were regularly divided by quickſet hedges, and well ſtocked with cattle grazing.

As they approached Braga, the beauty of its ſituation, on a fine riſing ground, ſtruck them exceedingly, and they imagined it muſt be a large and populous place in itſelf. On entering it, however, they were completely undeceived; for except in a few ſtreets, where ſome hatters and nailors were at work, every thing wore the appearance of melancholy ſtillneſs and quiet, ill according with the character of a thriving city.

A feeble attempt had been made to introduce the ſilk manufactory here; but it failed for want of ſupport.

The conſul, who was their attendant in this excurſion, introduced them to one of the canons of the great cathedral, with whom they ſupped. They found him to be one of the moſt liberal minded eccleſiaſtics they had ever met with in a Catholic country. He was exceedingly ſcrupulous indeed

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in repeating his canonical hours, and other daily leſſons of his Breviary; but not to loſe time, he would mumble them over at intervals, when the converſation in company was not very intereſting, or in ſhort when he had nothing more agreeable to engage him. He profeſſed his averſion to the celibacy of the clergy, and in practice diſowned it in effect. A fine young woman at the head of his table was known to be his own daughter, though ſhe went under the common appellation of niece. He owned that he had three ſons in the army, and that the fourth was intended to fill his own place. Before he was a father, he ſaid he never loved ſociety ſo well, nor intereſted himſelf ſo much in its happineſs; and that, in fact, he was become a better man and a better ſubject ſince he had contracted the endearing ties of children, though he could not publicly acknowledge them.

From Braga they proceeded to Guimaraens, an inland town, diſtant three leagues, remarkable for nothing but becauſe it was the origin and firſt ſeat of Portugueſe royalty, where their firſt king, Don Affonço Henriques, was born, in 1109.

In their return to Braga, as they were deſcending the mountain called Falperra, they had a noble view of the city, and of a beautiful country round it. On this ſight the conſul obſerved, what a difference there was between it now and when it was the capital of the kings of the Suevi, who for ages had poſſeſſed extenſive power in that part of Spain.

On their arrival at Braga, the conſul found a letter from Porto, incloſing one for Lord Freeman, from Liſbon, in which he received notice that his miſtreſs, Donna Lucretia, had juſt landed from

from England; and that her father and a rich Brazil merchant were engagedin a treaty of marriage reſpecting her.

Spurred by this intelligence, they ſoon after returned to Oporto, and after a farewel entertainment, they took leave of all their friends there, except the conſul, who accompanied them next morning to a nobleman's houſe; where he had ſent previous notice they intended to have the honour of dining.

At the head of the table ſat two young ladies, wrapped up in baize cloaks; and the gentlemen, to the number of a dozen, appeared in the ſame mean dreſs, having all cloaks over their waiſtcoats. The moſt decent looking perſons, indeed, at table, were three Capuchin friars, who had on new habits, which ſtunk ſo abominably of oil, that our countrymen were nearly ſuffocated. Yet in this ſhabby company, the word *excellencia* was bandied about from the one to the other, in a manner that excited the laughter of the ſtrangers, when they contemplated the appearance of the perſons to whom it was applied.

Dinner being over, they took an affectionate leave of the conſul, and continued their journey near five leagues farther on the road to Coimbra. Their horſes being quite tired, and being impatient to get on, it was now propoſed to ride poſt on aſſes. In all the towns and villages on the road, between Porto and Santarem, they found miſerable little aſſes conſtantly to be hired, which ran like lightning to the next town; but not a ſtep farther would they go. This mode of travelling is at the rate of two pence for a Portugueſe league, or not quite three farthings an Engliſh mile.

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Next day they reached Coimbra, to dinner. This is an univerſity, and is ſituated on a hill, near the river Mondego, over which is a very long, low bridge. Some Engliſh families reſide here. This city is famous for its curious cups and boxes of horn.

At the inn where they ſtopped, in the ſtreet of St. Sophia, which is full of churches and convents, they could find nothing to eat; and though very ſharp ſet by hunger, were engaging a calaſh driver to carry them to Santarem, when they were accoſted by a tall thin gentleman, in the dreſs of an officer, who told them that, underſtanding they were Engliſhmen, and that they were at a loſs for a dinner, he ſhould be happy in their company to take a ſhare of his. This kind offer they readily accepted. They ſoon diſcovered, from the dreſs, complexion, and accent of the officer's lady, that ſhe was a native of Germany; and it appeared from her converſation, that ſhe was not very partial to her adopted country, nor to her own private ſituation in it. They had a very fine little boy, into whoſe hands Lord Freeman ſlipped a purſe at parting: and reſuming their journey on aſſes, next day reached Santarem, where they found Lord Freeman's ſervant ready, waiting with a ſix-oared barge to convey them to Liſbon.

To form any tolerable idea of Liſbon, it is neceſſary to imagine an extent of ſhore on a ſpacious river, capable of receiving every kind of ſhipping, and pouring its waters immediately into the Atlantic Ocean. With regard to its local ſituation, it is far preferable to any other on the continent of Europe, for an extended commerce with all parts of the earth, particularly with America.

America. In a word, when we conſider the ſalubrity of the climate, the natural productions of the country, and other advantages, we are filled with admiration, and confeſs how bountiful nature has been; but at the ſame time feel, how little her munificent gifts have been improved.

Reckoning from the villages of Pedrouços and Belem, on the ſhore below the city, to which they are now joined by a continuation of buildings, Liſbon reaches along the beach from ſix to ſeven Engliſh miles, with a great variety of breadths towards the country, on the high grounds, which generally riſe one behind the other, though there are ſome valleys between. The principal is that on which ſtands the fine ſtreet, called the Rua Auguſta, overlooked on one ſide by the Caſtle of Liſbon, and on the other by a quarter of the city called Bairo Alto, which poſſeſſing an elevated ſituation, enjoys an endleſs variety of proſpects, from the different poſitions of the houſes.

This city is built on ſeven ſteep hills, in which reſpect it reſembles ancient Rome, though there is certainly no other ſimiliarity between them. The ſtreets are very ill paved, with ſmall ſharp ſtones; and at night, as they are not lighted, it is by no means adviſable to walk about alone.

The high commanding grounds, in or about the city, are entirely occupied with chapels, churches, and large extenſive convents; which, with their gardens, orchards, and vineyards, conſume a vaſt deal of ſpace, and give a fallacious appearance of extent.

All the ſtreets, laid out and built ſince the terrible earthquake on the 1ſt of November 1755, are ſtraight, regular, and moſtly ſpacious, running at right angles to each other. The houſes are generally two or three ſtories high, with no other

chimney than that of the kitchens. They are built of a kind of coarſe marble, and have iron balconies and wooden lattices to the ground floor; but are little remarkable for architectural beauty.

After the ſad cataſtrophe of Liſbon, the Marquis of Pombal and his architect, M. Mardel, laid out the general plan of the new city; and while that miniſter was in power, the buildings were carried on with great ſpirit, according to the original deſign; but immediately on the acceſſion of the preſent queen, a ſtop was put to ſome uſeful public ſtructures, and the workmen were taken off to build a new convent of vaſt extent and expence, dedicated to the Heart of Jeſus, and intended for the reception of nuns. This convent certainly never entered into the contemplation of Pombal; and indeed, it runs exactly acroſs the great avenue or road he intended ſhould lead from the city to the new palace.

The Marquis of Pombal, who, with all his faults, was certainly a character much ſuperior to the generality of his countrymen, made the rebuilding of the city his favourite object for many years. On this he laviſhed money freely, and ſpared no pains in taking care that the public buildings ſhould be as commodious and magnificent as poſſible.

The great ſquare in which the principal public ſtructures were erected, he called Plaça de Commercio, or the place of trade. This ſquare he conſidered as the great reſidential theatre of the whole trade of Portugal with foreign nations, as well as with its own colonies, and where all the great cauſes, in civil and criminal juſtice, were to be heard and decided. In the centre, is an equeſtrian ſtatue of the late king, the pedeſtal of which being of one ſingle ſtone, is ſo extremly ponderous,

rous, that it is ſaid to have required eighty yoke of oxen to drag it from the quarry.

Mr. Coſtigan ſays, that from obſervation as well as enquiries, he is convinced the old city did not cover above one half of the ground that the preſent does; at the ſame time that the number of inhabitants was nearly equal at both periods.

During ſome centuries, after Portugal became an independent ſtate, Liſbon muſt have been ſtill more confined in its extent, as it was entirely ſurrounded by a high wall, flanked with towers, in the ſtyle of all the great Mooriſh cities. From inſpection, at preſent, nothing can be conceived more incommodious than the exceſſive narrowneſs of the old ſtreets, their ſudden and irregular turnings and windings, their great declivity, and the impoſſibility of uſing any wheel carriages in them. The houſes likewiſe projected in ſuch a manner, that the inhabitants of the upper apartments could literally ſhake hands from the oppoſite ſide of the ſtreet, by which means the light of the ſun was excluded, and a freſh current of air effectually ſtopped. Such was the ſituation of Liſbon before the earthquake; and theſe inconveniences, added to a total want of cleanlineſs, may very ſatisfactorily account for the plague having ſometimes viſited this place.

Immediatly after their arrival in Liſbon, a Colonel Priolet, and the chaplain of the Britiſh factory waited on them, to make a tender of their civilities, in ſhewing them the place. Next morning they ſallied out to take a view of the city, whoſe romantic ſituation on hills and valleys, deſcending to the banks of a majeſtic river, full of ſhipping, produces ſuch a variety of

picturesque views at every new station, as are extremely captivating. Indeed, every distant prospect is as eminently beautiful, as the spot immediately under the eye is nauseous and disgusting. In fact, the streets are never thoroughly cleaned, although there is an established contract with scavengers. Every sort of filth is discharged in the night, and often in the day, into the streets; which would be much more nauseous than they really are, were not almost every thing devoured by swarms of starving dogs. It is, however, impossible to walk the city without having the olfactory nerves very sensibly offended.

It may be supposed, that Lord Freeman was not long before he had an interview with his beloved Donna Lucretia. Our author conducts his hero at last to the altar; but through all the intricacies and obstacles that excite interest in a modern novel, and very little in the style of a sober traveller. We therefore reject all this part of his work, as being neither illustrative of manners nor place in any particular degree; and only accompany him through such situations and details, as are calculated to give a proper idea of the country and people.

The first visit to the Marquis of Pancorvo, the father of Donna Lucretia, is thus described:

Their arrival was announced by three or four tolls of a bell, which hung near the porter's apartment. Four men appeared in shabby liveries, and after several very low bows, walked solemnly before them up stairs, and then delivered them over to two elderly men in regimentals, who conducted them in the same ceremonious manner through two large rooms, with white walls,

walls, into a third hung with old arras, where they begged they would be ſeated.

The apartment was large, lofty, and gloomy. The windows were without glaſs, and were ſhaded with crimſon damaſk curtains, which likewiſe concealed the doors. After waiting about fifteen minutes, the beautiful Donna Lucretia bolted from behind one of the curtains. She was in a looſe flowing dreſs of Indian ſtuff; her hair was fancifully diſpoſed, and her whole appearance was angelic.

Soon after, the marchioneſs, preceded by the two gentlemen in uniforms, and ſupported by a third in full dreſs, walked gravely into the room. She was tall and thin, but looked like a woman of faſhion, and had the remains of beauty. Lord Freeman and our author were introduced to her as ſtrangers; ſhe received them with politeneſs, and apologized for her ſpeaking ſuch indifferent Engliſh, from want of practice. A beautiful roſary was twiſted about her left arm, to the end of which was attached a ſparkling diamond croſs.

Immediately after, his excellency, the marquis, made his appearance, uſhered in with the uſual ceremony. He was a fat little man, labouring under his own weight, and every motion indicated effort. He had juſt riſen from his ſeſta, and had on a light cloak, under which he wore a ſcarlet waiſtcoat, with long flaps, which depended to his knees. His head was covered with a fine cap, bordered with Bruſſels lace.

On the ſtrangers being preſented to him, he ſhook them by the hand, and laughed heartily; aſſuring them that he was overjoyed to ſee them; and that they might command every thing in his power.

He then took a chair, being fatigued with his compliments, and ordered ſome liquid ſweetmeats, which he waſhed down with a large glaſs of water.

In a ſhort time the ſervants introduced tea and chocolate, and one of them whiſpered the marquis, on which, making an apology to the company of buſineſs, he went out, and returned no more. His place was, however, ſoon ſupplied by his ſon, the Viſcount Baldiorra, with his friend and companion, Father Dominic. The old lady's countenance ſeemed to brighten up at the appearance of her ſon. Lord Freeman endeavoured to enter into converſation with him; but he bluntly told him, that he underſtood neither French nor Engliſh, and then turned to his favourite Dominic.

The general converſation was far from being intereſting; and after a ſhort time they took their leave. On the firſt Friday of Lent, there is always a great general proceſſion here, in commemoration of our Saviour's being led out of Jeruſalem, bearing his croſs. Our countrymen having dined in the vicinity, went on the eve of that proceſſion to the church of St. Roque, to ſee the king, queen, and court kiſs the feet of our Lord, as is cuſtomary on that occaſion.

The figure of our Saviour was much larger than life, and was kneeling on one knee, and riſing on the other leg, in the act of lifting up the heavy croſs laid on its ſhoulders. It was ſet out in the middle of the church, ready to be carried in a kind of private proceſſion, that evening, to the church of the Convent of Grace, from whence the grand proceſſion was to move next day; and thoſe who were to accompany it, only waited the

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arrival of the court to pay their devotions, before they ſet out.

Meanwhile the ſacriſtan, for a ſmall fee, carried our countrymen to ſurvey the miraculous image. After having kiſſed its foot, he ſhewed them a deep wound in the leg, which a Jew had given it with a knife, on being permitted to approach it, under pretence of adoration. The ſacriſtan aſſured them, that the knife of this infamous Iſraelite pierced deep into the leg, the ſame as if it had been actual fleſh, and that there iſſued from the wound a quantity of blood, which was carefully preſerved at that time, and annually expoſed on the great altar, for the veneration of the faithful.

He then ſhewed the mark of teeth on another part of the leg, which he affirmed happened in the ſubſequent manner. An Infidel Moor coming to Liſbon on ſome buſineſs, a zealous Dominican friar undertook to convert him. After many ſquabbles and arguments, for and againſt the Chriſtian religion, the Moor attacked his antagoniſt moſt ſeverely on the article of images, which the Mahometans deteſt.

The friar, to ſupport the authority of the holy Roman church, told him what happened to this image, when the Jew ſtabbed it; to which the other replied he did not believe it, and deſired to be ſhewn the mark. Accordingly the next day, the friar conducted him to the church for that purpoſe, and the Mahometan approaching his face, as if to examine the wound more attentively, gave the leg a bite, when, to his utter confuſion and aſtoniſhment, he found it was warm fleſh, which yielded to his teeth, and they entered deep into it.

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The ſame Moor, the legend reports, was immediately baptized, and ſerved many years afterwards as under ſacriſtan of this very church, and died in the greateſt odour of ſanctity. The marks of teeth are certainly very viſible, whether from ſuch a cauſe, we leave our readers to determine. Be that as it may, the image has ever ſince been held in the higheſt veneration; and ſo much reſpected, that the royal family and the court came yearly on the eve of the proceſſion, to worſhip it; which ceremony they devoutly performed on this occaſion, to the great edification of numerous ſpectators.

After their majeſties and the court had retired, and the proceſſion had left the church, the ſacriſtan led them to ſee the famous chapel of St. John the Baptiſt, which king John V. had procured to be made at Rome at an enormous expence. In order to conſecrate it, the pope ſaid the firſt maſs in it there, after which it was taken to pieces, carefully packed up, and brought hither with the ſame artificers to put it up again.

After examining this chapel, which is full of Moſaic paintings, and decorated with a magnificent gold lamp, and two very maſſy ſilver gilt candleſticks, the ſacriſtan led them to the great altar, where, drawing aſide a long damaſk curtain, they diſcovered a magnificent image of the Virgin, with the child Jeſus in her arms. The Virgin was moſt ſplendidly dreſſed in robes of gold; and a crown, ornamented with large ſtones of various colours, encircled her head. She was mounted on a creſcent, and all around her were painted ſtars in gold, on an azure ground. Her ſtyle or title was the Lady of the Empyræum.

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The child held a ſmall globe in one hand, and a ſceptre in the other.

The ſacriſtan aſſured them, that the child in the Virgin's arms grew ſenſibly every year; that they cut his finger and toe nails frequently, the parings whereof had been carefully preſerved; and he farther affirmed, referring, for the truth of it, to the regiſter of the church, that about two hundred years ago, the child uſed to deſcend from its mother's arms, at the invitation of two children of its own ſize, who then came into the church to viſit it; and that they had often been ſeen together eating their afternoon's repaſt on the ſteps of the altar; that afterwards the child Jeſus informed them they ſhould be called to heaven on the next aſcenſion day, which happened accordingly, and they were both found dead on their knees before the Virgin, with their hands joined in the attitude of prayer. Their relicks were carefully depoſited under the ſame altar, and an annual feſtival was inſtituted in commemoration of ſuch a miracle.

The ſacriſtan next ſhewed them a famous crucifix, which was brought and delivered to Father Montoya, by the hands of angels; and aſſerted that it had often been heard in converſation with this venerable prieſt.

Though the ſacriſtan evidently ſpoke no more than he had been taught to believe, and what other good Catholics do believe, he was evidently diſordered in his ſenſes. It appeared he belonged to a family of great diſtinction; but having, when young, committed a murder, accompanied with many aggravating circumſtances, to ſave his family from diſgrace, he had been permitted to eſcape to Rome, where he long did penance

nance on the ſteps of St. Peter's, till he at laſt obtained his pardon, and was ſent back with recommendatory letters for the office of ſacriſtan of this church.

Several of the other churches of Liſbon deſerve notice from the curious. The patriarchal church, as it is called, ſtands on the top of one of the ſeven hills on which Liſbon is built. The great altar is placed under the dome, and has a canopy over it, ſupported by four ſpirally twiſted columns of gilt wood. In this ſtructure is a very large organ, with horizontal pipes. Indeed moſt of the organs in Spain and Portugal are built in that manner.

At the Marquis of Villa Nova's levee, our author met with ſeveral perſons attending for redreſs, who gave the hiſtory of their particular hardſhips. Some of them ſhew the turpitude of the Portugueſe character in the blackeſt light. We lay the narrative of one or two ſuppliants to that miniſter before our readers.

An officer, to whom they were introduced by Colonel Priolet, gave the following extraordinary account of himſelf.

" I was lieutenant colonel in one of the regiments at Goa, in the Eaſt Indies, about nine years ago; when a troop of the plundering Mhartta Indians came down from the mountains of Gatte, and rifled ſome of the plantations on the main land, about three leagues from the iſland on which Goa ſtands.

The viceroy, thinking it his duty to chaſtiſe ſuch a piece of inſolence, ordered a detachment of two hundred men to be ready on the parade in the evening for that purpoſe. As ſoon his intentions were known, numerous were the applications

tions for the command of this party; but from his excellency's partiality for me, I was appointed to this buſineſs; and had a ſealed paper put into my hands, which I was not to open till I had paſſed the ferry, and marched a league into the country.

I accordingly proceeded to execute my commiſſion in darkneſs and ſilence, when my advanced guard ſoon began firing, after we paſſed the ferry; and convinced me that an enemy was at hand. Some of the ſhot coming among my men, they inſtantly threw down their arms in a panic, and calling on our Lady of Aſſiſtance, made their eſcape, and all arrived ſafe at the garriſon, but without their arms. Next morning about ten, I reached the ſame place, when the viceroy ordered me into arreſt for breach of duty, and to be tried by a court martial, which he ordered to aſſemble. I had now leiſure to open my inſtructions, which the flight of my men prevented my doing the night before. They were couched in the following terms:

"The two generals in chief of this expedition, are St. Francis Xavier, of the Indies, and St. Anthony of Liſbon; under their orders Lieutenant Colonel Manoel Peſſinga Tinoco will march with two hundred men, to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the Mharattas, according to the directions he ſhall receive from his ſuperior officers, and in obedience to their commands."

My counſel, to whom I ſhewed theſe inſtructions, adviſed me to ſtand on my defence before the court martial, by alleging, I was not anſwerable for the ſucceſs of an expedition of which I had not the principal command; and that the two ſaints, and not I, ought to be ſummoned before

fore the court. I did ſo; and made it evidently appear, that I had never received any commands either from ſaint or man, but thoſe in that paper, which evidently pointed to future orders to be communicated.

In conſequence of this repreſentation, the court martial reported me not guilty. Yet the viceroy was not ſatisfied: he ſtill kept me a priſoner, and in this ſituation I remained for three years, without pay or other means of ſubſiſtence, till a new viceroy was ſent from Europe; with orders, as uſual, to ſend home his predeceſſor in irons. This, however, did not mend my fortune; I was ſent home priſoner likewiſe; and being a native of Brazil, when I landed in Portugal, I had neither money nor friend; and had it not been for the charitable fathers of the convent of the Deliverance of Alcantara, who have furniſhed me with a dinner for theſe five years, I muſt have periſhed of want. I have been dangling attendance ſo long without effect; yet ſtill wait the iſſue of my memorials with holy patience, truſting in our Lady of the Deliverance for a good diſpatch."

Another gentleman told a ſtill more extraordinary and lamentable tale. His father, it appeared, was a reſpectable country gentleman, of the province of Entre Doura e Minho, and made annually a conſiderable quantity of wine, which he ſold to an Engliſh merchant at Oporto. This gentleman, happy amidſt his family and his friends, was taken up one night, by the court of inquiſition, on ſome unknown charge, and all his property confiſcated; though he had always been reckoned as good a Catholic as any in Portugal.

His

His ſon, the narrator of his father's fate, was furniſhed by the Engliſh merchant with money, to enable him to go to court, to ſolicit his father's enlargement, and to endeavour to procure juſtice. After labouring for twelve months to no ſort of purpoſe, as no one would enter into diſpute with the holy office, or could penetrate into its ſecrets, he returned to Oporto; and offered his ſervices to the merchant, to aſſiſt him in the management of his wine buſineſs, as the only return he could make him. Eight years had nearly elapſed, when he one day received a letter from the ſon of a perſon who had been the author of all their calamities, though it had never been ſuſpected before; ſaying, that his father lay at the point of death, and earneſtly requeſted an interview before he expired.

The young gentleman immediately ſet off, and on entering the room, found the dying man ſurrounded by his confeſſor and ſeveral prieſts. "You will remember," ſaid he to him, "that while I was one day riding along the road that runs through your eſtate, and ſtopped hard by a croſs, fixed at the corner of one of your fields, your father and you were then beating and killing a large ſerpent, which had twiſted itſelf about the foot of the croſs. It happened ſoon after, that your father was called upon to make ſome depoſitions, which unknowingly affected me. In revenge, I ſuborned witneſſes who ſwore, before the court of inquiſition, that your father had made it a frequent practice, to come out in the morning early, and beat that croſs with his cane, and ſpit upon it; in conſequence of which he was taken up, though entirely innocent of the charge. This is what I wiſhed to communicate, and it is of this that, with my dying breath, I beg

your pardon, the pardon of God, and of all the good Catholic Chriſtians here preſent."

Having procured an atteſted copy of this confeſſion, the ſon ſet out with pleaſure to procure the liberation of his father, which he did not doubt he ſhould now accompliſh. The act of faith, however, was not to be celebrated for ſome time; and he was, therefore, obliged to wait. At laſt it took place; the names of the accuſed were called over, in the great hall of the inquiſition. Their different crimes and ſentences were read by the ſecretary of the tribunal. He in vain tried to recogniſe his father among this miſerable group. His name was, however, called, and he was declared innocent; but judge what his feelings were, when, on making farther enquiry, he found that he had died in the priſons of the inquiſition, three years before!

From that time he had remained ſoliciting the recovery of his eſtate, toſſed between the ſecretary of ſtate and the inquiſitor general, without any proſpect of ſeeing a period to his pretenſions, as his property ſtill remained in the poſſeſſion of the holy office. Such are the baleful effects of ſuperſtition and tyranny!

Having viſited almoſt every thing worth ſeeing in the city, and the immediate environs, they began to think of a few more diſtant excurſions. Many ſituations they found delightful by nature, and that they only wanted a little aſſiſtance from art, to convert them into an elyſium.

They had heard much of the aqueduct before they ſaw it; and perhaps this made it in ſome meaſure diſappoint their expectations. It is, however, a noble work, and has the immenſe utility of conducting a fine ſtream to the city, which,

which, before its erection, was periſhing for want of this neceſſary element. It paſſes over the vale of Alcantara, uniting two hills. The arches in this part are thirty-five in number, of which fourteen are very large; and ſome of them three hundred and thirty-two feet high. There are ten ſmaller arches near the city, and many more of ſtill inferior dimenſions near the ſource. The water is emptied into a large reſervoir, at one of the extremities of Liſbon.

The whole pile was erected in 1748, and providentially received no damage from the earthquake in 1755. It is conſtructed of a kind of white marble. The pillars which ſupport the arches are ſquare, and the largeſt meaſure thirty-three feet each ſide, at the baſe.

The outlets of the city are rendered leſs pleaſant by the high ſtone walls, which every where ſurround the orchards and vineyards, and intercept the proſpect. Farther on, the country is agreeably diverſified with groves of orange and lemon trees, intermixed with olive and vineyards. The roads are bordered with aloes, which, when in bloſſom, make a ſingular appearance in the eyes of the natives of a colder climate, where they blow ſo rarely.

From Liſbon to Cintra are five leagues, over a rough pavement of large ſtones. But the end of the journey richly compenſates for the labour of reaching it. Here the air is charmingly cool, and nature, undiſguiſed by art, exhibits her enchanting beauties without control.

Our author was delighted with the ſtupendous rocks, wildly interſperſed with wood and water. The ancients called this place Promontorium Lunæ, or the Promontory of the Moon; and no

ſpot could give a nearer, or more diſtinct view of that luminary than where the temple of Cynthia ſtood, from whence comes the modern appellation Cintra. This place, however, is now occupied by a convent of dull ignorant monks, who are ſo far from contemplating the beauty of the heavens, for which their ſituation furniſhes ſuch a fine opportunity, that they are bound, by a vow of profeſſional humility and obedience, never to lift their eyes from the earth. The proſpect is boundleſs, from this almoſt inacceſſible ſpot; and preſents nothing but an aſſemblage of beauties.

From Cintra, they croſſed the country to the town of Oeyras, where ſtands the country palace of the late miniſter, the Marquis of Pombal, not far from the caſtle of St. Julian, which they alſo viſited. The marquis's houſe is a very large, but irregular, building, with many fine apartments, containing ſome well-executed family portraits.

The gardens are very extenſive, but laid out in a very bad taſte, or rather in a taſte of ſtudied economy; it being evidently the intention to turn every thing to profit. They are full of orange, lemon, and mulberry trees, with a large building for ſilk worms. On one ſide of the garden is a wine preſs, with all the neceſſary conveniences, and adjoining a noble wine cellar.

The caſtle of St. Julian, in this vicinity, is an irregular pentagon, founded on the ſolid rock, the baſe of which is waſhed by the ſea. It is ſtrongly garriſoned, and planted with two hundred and five large braſs cannon. Oppoſite to this caſtle is a ſmaller one, on the other bank of the river.

They

They made another excurſion to the royal convent and palace of Mafra, about thirty miles from Liſbon. The firſt part of the road is through a fine romantic country, producing orange, lemon, olive, mulberry, cypreſs, and palm trees. The country is well cultivated, and produces abundant crops.

The laſt part of the journey aſſumes an upland aſpect, and the incloſures are formed of looſe ſtones, rudely piled on each other. To the left is a view of Cape Roque, and to the right the royal park, three leagues in circumference, ſurrounded by a high wall.

The palace is ſituated near the ſmall village of Mafra, and is conſtructed of a ſpecies of white marble. It contains thirty-ſeven windows in front, and forms a ſquare of about ſeven hundred and thirty feet. The church is placed in the centre, having the palace on one ſide, and the convent on the other.

The flight of ſtairs before the building is peculiarly grand; and under the portico, at the entrance, are twelve coloſſal ſtatues of ſaints, of tolerable workmanſhip. The portico is of two diſtinct orders of architecture, each of ſix columns; the firſt Ionic, the other Compoſite.

The architect of this fabric was John Frederics, a German. It was begun in 1717, and finiſhed in 1731. The convent contains three hundred cells, each of twenty feet by eighteen. The new library is three hundred and eighty-one palms in length, and forty-three in breadth. In the whole edifice, it is ſaid, there are eight hundred and ſeventy rooms, and five thouſand two hundred windows. The floors are of brick, well laid; but

little of the palace is furniſhed; as it is ſeldom honoured with the royal reſidence.

On each ſide of the church is a tower, and in each tower forty-eight bells, which compoſe a ſet of chimes, or what the French call *carillon*. The aſcent is by one hundred and ſixty-two ſteps. The church is adorned with a cupola of the Corinthian order, with a gallery running round the inſide of it. There are ſix altars, over each of which is a marble baſſo relievo. There are alſo ſix organs, and ſome few paintings.

They found a good inn at Mafra; and were agreeably entertained by ſeeing the landlord and landlady dance the fandango to the muſic of the guitar. It ſeems, this dance is almoſt as great a favourite in Portugal as in Spain.

The palace of Belem, about five miles from Liſbon, is a mean wooden edifice, and contains ſcarcely a ſingle object, within or without, to detain a perſon of taſte.

The palace of Caluz is alſo built of wood, but is extremely elegant as to furniture and decorations. The ſaloon of audience is paved with marble, and panelled with mirrors. The concert room is two hundred feet long; and its ceiling is very magnificent. In one room the hiſtory of Don Quixote is repreſented in eighteen compartments. In another are various paintings, repreſenting young children, almoſt in a ſtate of nudity, except ſome whimſical modeſty pieces. Behind this palace is a large garden, with a delightful labyrinth.

Though there is an Italian theatre, and another for Portugueſe plays, at Liſbon, the pious queen, ſays Mr. Coſtigan, does not permit any public exhibition

exhibition of this kind, which ſhe conſiders as a ſchool of immorality; much leſs would ſhe ſuffer women to perform on the ſtage, becauſe of the indecency of the appearance; for the principal object here is to obviate public ſcandal, which is more attended to than a real regard to the inherent principles of virtue.

Our countrymen were invited one day to dine at a nobleman's country houſe, with the Britiſh envoy, and ſeveral other perſons of note. During dinner, and eſpecially during the deſſert, the motes and the glozas flew about the room in abundance. This is a kind of *improvis atori*, carried on in the following manner:

In large ſocial companies, the wit who intends to exhibit, if in converſation with a lady, lays hold of any ſhort ſentence ſhe happens to utter, and repeating it, calls out, *La vay*, which is to advertiſe the meeting, that he is going to gloze that ſentence, which is called his môte, or text. He then makes ſome verſes extempore, having reference to that ſentence, moſt frequently containing ſome extravagant compliment to the lady herſelf, or ſome one preſent. The verſes muſt be ſo diſpoſed as to make good ſenſe; not only with the môte or ſentence fixed on; but if ingeniouſly handled, the whole turn of the wit and emphaſis of the verſes muſt fall on that ſentence, which likewiſe, of neceſſity, is to cloſe the ſtanza.

This is unqueſtionably an elegant amuſement, and ſometimes affords great entertainment to the reſt of the company.

At table were two friars, who, laying aſide their uſual auſterity, ſeemed entirely devoted to wit, mirth, and good humour; and one of them even plied his glaſs ſo heartily, that the effects of it

it were perfectly viſible before the deſſert was over; and before the whole company roſe from table, he was conducted to bed reeling, to the great ſcandal of the company; for a drunkard here is held in the utmoſt contempt and abhorrence; and to ſtigmatize a man for this beaſtly quality, is reckoned equal to the bittereſt reproach that can be beſtowed in the Engliſh language.

On the contrary, nothing is more common than to give and receive the lie reciprocally, in ſerious as well as jocular diſcourſe, without any ſort of offence being taken. Such are the oppoſite cuſtoms of different nations, even on the little continent of Europe; and this ſhould teach us not to be ſurpriſed at finding a ſtill greater difference in remoter regions.

The ſubſequent anecdote will prove how eaſily the lie is borne, even by military men. During the war of 1762, a gentleman raiſed a troop of horſe at his own expence; and, in return, he received the rank of captain in the army. In his troop was a fine Spaniſh horſe, to which Major Luttrell, of Burgoyne's light horſe, took a particular fancy, and wiſhed to purchaſe it. The price was accordingly fixed, before witneſſes, at ſixty moidores; but before the horſe was delivered, the captain changed his mind; and ſent to inform the major, that he would not part with him under eighty.

The Engliſh officer, juſtly provoked at ſuch a glaring breach of integrity, waited on the captain, with his interpreter, as not underſtanding the language of the country, and deſired him to be queſtioned as to the previous contract they had made. The Portugueſe officer aſſented to the truth

truth of all he urged, as to the original terms; but avowed, that he receded from them, becauſe the horſe was too cheap, and declared, that he would not part with him for leſs than eighty moidores.

The major then deſired him to be told, that by his infamous behaviour he had ſhewn himſelf to be a liar, a raſcal, and a ſcoundrel. At this the Portugueſe ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, and replied, he was ſorry that the gentleman ſhould take offence where none was intended; but added, that he would not part with the horſe on any other terms.

On finding this to be the caſe, the major ordered him to be acquainted, that in France or England, if it happened that one officer beſtowed ſuch epithets as he had juſt done on him, the officer ſo groſsly inſulted, would be under the neceſſity of calling out, and fighting the perſon who had provoked him.

The captain ſtill preſerved his ſang froid, and very deliberately replied to the interpreter, that what the gentleman ſaid might be very true, for aught he knew to the contrary; but that he ſaw no good reaſon for preferring the practice of foreigners, in the preſent inſtance, to that of his own country; that if he conſidered himſelf as affronted, he ſhould never be ſuch a fool or a madman, as, by calling out his antagoniſt, to offer him an equal chance of taking his own life, while he knew of a ſafer and more certain method of obtaining ſuch ſatisfaction as he ſhould judge adequate to the injury he received. In other words, "by ſtabbing him unawares, or by hiring aſſaſſins to do ſo." Such is the point of honour in Portugal!

We

We have already mentioned, that there was no public exhibition of plays allowed when Mr. Coſtigan was here; however, they were preſent at a performance before the court, which fully ſatisfied them as to the low ſtate of the Portugueſe theatrical amuſements.

The theatre was gorgeouſly fitted up with crimſon damaſk, and a profuſion of gold and ſilver mock lace. The front row of boxes were full of ladies. The hair was done up in a wonderful variety of plaits and braids, with much taſte, and without caps; but they had a quantity of beautiful flowers, both natural and artificial, which ſupplied their place, and which were richly intermixed with ſprigs of diamonds, beſides many breaſt knots, ſolitaires, and pendants of the ſame and other precious ſtones.

The performers were chiefly of the profeſſion, collected for that purpoſe. The entertainment conſiſted of three parts. The firſt was a Portugueſe comedy, intermixed with ſome extraordinary ſinging: the ſecond was a moſt ſingular medley, reſembling a Spaniſh puppet ſhow; and the laſt was called a Spaniſh farce, or entremez.

The actors drawled out their words in a very diſagreeable manner. To annalize the plot would be impoſſible. Low wit, ſmut, and ribaldry formed the principal part of the diverſion; and the more groſs or abſurd any part was, the more it was reliſhed by the company in general.

But, however ridiculous the Portugueſe farces may be, which, at beſt, are only fancied repreſentations, our author ſays, they are quite outdone by a piece of religious mummery which he witneſſed here.

Some

Some thieves having broke into a church, a few leagues from Liſbon, in running about in the dark for plate, happened to overturn, or break open, a pix, containing ſome conſecrated wafers, which were found, next morning, ſtrewed about on the ground near the altar, and ſome of them were miſſing.

When theſe circumſtances were reported to the queen, they threw her into the deepeſt affliction: ſhe was inviſible for three days, and thought this profanation was much more terrible than all the earthquakes and misfortunes which had happened in her father's reign. A conſultation was held with the graveſt and moſt orthodox divines; and the whole court was ordered into deep mourning for nine days, at the end of which was a general proceſſion from one great church to another, in which the queen and her attendants bore a part. By this ceremony, which is called a *Diſaggravation*, it was ſeriouſly believed that the wrath of heaven would be averted; as if it were poſſible that there could be any connection between the Creator of the Univerſe and a wafer.

What a crowd of reflections does ſuch flagrant and inveterate folly preſent to the conſideration of every ſenſible and ſerious mind. Here we plainly ſee into what an indefinite train of groſs, ludicrous, and impious ſituations this belief of the REAL PRESENCE muſt be continually bringing them. Comparing the Deity to that capricious tyrant, man, they think to appeaſe every ſuppoſed inſult that is offered him, as frightened and cringing ſlaves would the miſplaced wrath of a deſpot; without reflecting, that he is all powerful to vindicate his own cauſe; and that he

he neither puniſhes through caprice, nor for involuntary faults.

In noblemen's houſes, in this country, however large they may be, only a few of the apartments are commonly fitted up in any ſtyle. The reſt are bare white walls, with brick or deal floors. Though the bed furniture is extremely gaudy, they have neither featherbed nor mattreſs; but only ſtraw ſewed up in coarſe canvaſs.

In the bed-chambers of the women are ſome very low chairs; but they more frequently uſe mats, after the Mooriſh form, on which they ſquat on their hams. In the ſame manner they ſit at church, except during the celebration of the maſs, when they conſtantly kneel.

The expences of the interior economy of a Portugueſe nobleman's family, are certainly as moderate, as they are exceſſive in every thing that regards external parade. Their numerous ſervants are ſupported by rations of boiled meat and rice, cut and divided into ſhares, on meat days; and of dry cod-fiſh and rice on days of abſtinence. Wine is ſeldom wanted, and is brought, in ſmall quantities, from the neareſt tavern. Cold water is the principal beverage; and, at night, the ſmalleſt bit of cold meat, or a pilchard, with ſallad, tempered with oil and vinegar, forms their ſupper.

In the morning, chocolate is the general breakfaſt. Sweetmeats are the grand luxury, at all hours, which render them diſpoſed to drink large draughts of water. This blows them up, and gives an appearance of obeſity; but their fleſh is neither elaſtic nor ſolid.

Our countrymen were invited to a grand feaſt at the Marquis of Pancorvo's country houſe. The

company went in barges, very magnificently equipped; and, as they had full three leagues to row, they had time to enjoy this aquatic expedition.

Dinner was ready by the time of their arrival. The table conſiſted of fifty covers, with a couple of ſervants behind each chair. They had three regular ſervices; the whole in maſſy old plate. Many of the ſervants were in uniforms, and others perfectly well dreſſed, with the collar and order of Chriſt hanging on their breaſt. During the entertainment, ſome pieces of muſic were played.

At the deſſert, the muſic was continued; and ſome charming arrias were ſung by the beſt voices from the patriarchal church. The windows of the apartment were on a level with the ground; and before them appeared a company of maſks, dreſſed as ſhepherds and ſhepherdeſſes, with flowers, garlands, and all the other inſignia of paſtoral life, and dancing to muſic.

When they ceaſed, two men, and as many women, danced the fandango to the guitar, with caſtagnettes; and môtes and glozas began within.

Their return was by moon-light, and nothing could be more delightful than this water ſcene. Our countrymen's barge was carried a conſiderable way out of the courſe by the rapidity of the current, againſt which the Algarve rowers ſtrove in vain. On this, one of them, who ſeemed to be a humouriſt, called for St. Anthony, the patron of the veſſel, with whom he entered into a ſupplicating kind of addreſs, to procure a favourable breeze; but as the ſaint was deaf to his entreaties, he ſoon began to abuſe him in the groſſeſt

terms, calling him blockhead, coxcomb, and cuckold, with other hard names.

Neither good nor bad language availing, a collection was made, becauſe St. Anthony ſeldom did any thing without alms. "As ſoon as my goſſip hears the tinkling of money in his box, we ſhall have a wind directly," ſaid the fellow. The ſaint, however, was ſtill ſlow to hear, and he was even threatened with ſtabbing. At laſt, a breeze ſprang up; and St. Anthony was ſeriouſly adviſed to be more indulgent in future, on pain of being degraded from his rank. They reached the quays of Santarem in ſafety, and got home about eleven at night, ſtrongly amuſed with the variety of the day's entertainments.

The two cities of Liſbon and Porto may juſtly be conſidered as the two eyes of Portugal; for here centre the whole riches of the country, and all their trade with foreign nations, as well as with their own colonies.

A ſenſible Portugueſe writer compares, not inaptly, the whole kingdom to one of that ſort of ſpiders, which has a long body, with extremely long and feeble legs, reaching to a great diſtance, but which it is ſcarcely able to move. The benefits, indeed, of foreign trade, and of the fine and extenſive regions poſſeſſed by Portugal in Africa and South America, have never yet reached the peaſant of the mother country, any farther than by enabling the inhabitants of the two principal cities to pay a little advance on the proviſions he brings to market. The only foreign luxury he is yet acquainted with, is tobacco; or a piece of dried Newfoundland cod-fiſh; but this laſt he ſeldom reaches. Bread, made of Indian corn, and a ſalted pilchard, or a head of garlick, compoſe

compoſe his ſtanding meal; for, except on grand feſtivals, he never aſpires to fleſh meat.

Habituated to penury in this world, and taught to look forward by his ghoſtly directors to eaſe and happineſs in another, he ſubmits to his fortune without a murmur or a complaint; believes all that the prieſts teach, and pays his ſuperſtitious devotions with formal preciſion. If he has money enough to furniſh a portion for putting his ſon or daughter into a religious houſe, this raiſes the credit of his family for ever; and nothing is then wanting to give him a ſort of apotheoſis, but to bequeath, at his death, what little money he has left, to be divided among the prieſts, in ſaying maſſes to haſten him through purgatory. Theſe degraded notions of religion ſerve to keep the Portugueſe peaſant in the moſt abject ſlavery, both civil and eccleſiaſtical. Hence an univerſal appearance of apathy and dejection in the poor. The ill-treated, but uſeful, labourer is ſhrivelled up at thirty; and more particularly the female ſex, at an age when they are only in their prime in other countries, are here marked with decay, and have all the appearance of walking ſpectres.

As there is little farther information reſpecting Portugal to be derived from Mr. Coſtigan; to ſupply ſome deficiencies, and explain ſome circumſtances that have only been ſlightly touched on, we ſubjoin a few additional remarks on the country, or the people, from the ingenious Mr. Twiſs.

When that gentleman was in Liſbon, he tells us, that ſtrolling about one day in ſearch of new objects, he ſaw a ſingular ſcene, and indeed we are of his opinion: it was two men ſitting in the ſtreet, with each a baboon on his ſhoulders, free-

ing his head from vermin; in which occupation theſe animals are very dexterous. The owners of them are paid about a penny halfpenny a head for their cleanſing it; and, among ſuch a filthy people as the Portugueſe, this is no unprofitable buſineſs.

The chief order of knighthood in this country is that of Chriſt, inſtituted 1283. This order is almoſt indiſcriminately conferred on any one who is a Roman Catholic, and is therefore diſgraceful to wear it. Even valets, muſicians, and tavern-keepers are decorated with it. The badge is a ſtar on the left breaſt, and a ſmall enamelled red croſs, charged with a white one, hanging by a ribbon from the button hole.

Another order, is that of Avis, of ſtill more ancient origin; as it was inſtituted by their firſt King Alfonſo, in 1147. The knights wear a ſmall enamelled green croſs fleurie at the button hole.

Numerous as the nobility are here, their titles are not hereditary; but are conferred by the ſovereign in the ſame manner as other perſonal honours. It is not infrequent for the ſon to have a title and the father none. However, titles are frequently confirmed to the next heir, though not aſſumed as a right.

The Portugueſe have various kinds of coin, both in gold, ſilver, and copper. Accounts, however, are kept in reis, an imaginary denomination. The par is ſixty-ſeven pence halfpenny ſterling for one thouſand reis. An Engliſh guinea paſſes, in Liſbon, for three thouſand ſix hundred reis, which is nine pence leſs than its intrinſic value; but this varies with the courſe of exchange.

It is difficult to aſcertain the number of ſouls in Liſbon. Perhaps they may be eſtimated at half

half a million. About a fifth part of them are people of colour. The earthquake, in 1755, is ſaid to have deſtroyed at leaſt twenty thouſand; but it was impoſſible to calculate this loſs with any degree of exactitude.

The Engliſh factory is computed at ſix hundred perſons. They have a burial ground in one of the ſkirts of the city, planted with walks of cypreſs trees, under which are the graves. Several tombs, erected to inſignificant or unknown characters, have pompous inſcriptions; while Henry Fielding, Eſq. author of Tom Jones, who lies buried here, has not a line to record his name.

Four-wheeled carriages are not in common uſe in Liſbon, except among ambaſſadors and miniſters. Two-wheeled machines generally ſupply their place. The ladies ride on burros, or jack-aſſes, with a pack ſaddle. A ſervant attends them with a ſmall ſtick to make the beaſt go faſter, or to ſtop it by pulling the tail. Gentlemen ride on horſes, and ſervants on mules.

Swords are only worn by well-dreſſed people; and all ornaments of gold and ſilver lace, or embroidery, are prohibited to both ſexes. Their clothes, however, are often ſufficiently expenſive; and jewels are permitted without reſtriction.

Portugal produces corn, wine, oil, oranges of both kinds, lemons, citrons, pears, apples, cherries, figs, and an infinite variety of other fruits. The quadrupeds and birds are nearly the ſame as in England. The fiſh are ſalmon, ſoles, tench, lampreys, ſturgeon, trout, and a great variety of other ſorts, which are excellent eating.

The mines of Portugal are in little eſtimation. Though the ancients celebrated the golden ſands

of the Tagus, and it is affirmed, that King John III. had a ſceptre made out of the particles collected in that ſtream; yet neither gold nor ſilver, in any quantity worth collecting, is now found here. However, torquoiſes, amethyſts, hyacinths, talc, mercury, amber, magnets, and different kinds of marble are produced here.

The Tagus is not navigable to any great diſtance above Liſbon, on account of the rocks and cataracts, which interſect its channel. A company of Dutch adventurers, above a century ago, offered to trace roads over the rocks, and to form dikes and ſluices which would facilitate the paſſage of boats from Liſbon quite to Madrid, as they propoſed alſo to render the river Mançanares navigable, which falls into the Tagus. Several councils were held, both at Madrid and Liſbon, to take their plan into conſideration, and to report their opinion on its propriety. The concluſion of their deliberations is worthy of recording: it is thus given by Colmenares:

"If God," obſerved thoſe wiſe men, "had been willing to have thoſe two rivers navigable, he did not want the aſſiſtance of men to render them ſo; becauſe he was able to produce ſuch an effect by a ſingle fiat. Now, as he has not done it," (for they argued logically) "it follows, that he did not think proper to do it; ſo that it would be contradicting his providence to endeavour to rectify what he appears to have left imperfect, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf."

The windmills in this kingdom, as well as thoſe of Spain, are about ſeven feet high; and of very ſimple conſtruction. The millſtone is placed horizontally, and the ſails almoſt touch the ground. This mode of building preſented an eaſy

eaſy opportunity to Don Quixote to attack ſuch monſters: whereas, had he been in England or Holland, he would have found it, from their height, a much more difficult buſineſs.

The dreſs of the common people is a large cloak and ſlouched hat; and under the cloak they generally carry a dagger, though prohibited, the blade of which is of ſuch excellent temper, that it will ſtrike through a crown piece.

The women wear no caps, but tie a piece of ſilk network over their hair, with a long taſſel behind, and a bow knot over their forehead. This ornament for the head is called Redecilla, and is worn indiſcriminately by both ſexes. The gentry, however, dreſs entirely in the French or Engliſh faſhion.

The ladies of diſtinction wear very large and heavy pendants in their ears; and the ſleeves of their gowns are generally large enough for their waiſts. Large noſegays are much in uſe with the fair ſex in Portugal. They are extremely lively; and are fond of dancing, ſinging, laughing; and talking, to the laſt degree. In ſhort, they anſwer Voltaire's deſcription, who ſays, "that ladies in ſouthern climates have mercury in their veins, whereas, in the northern climates they have only milk."

Many of them have humble attendants, or ſuitors, under the appellation of Cortejos, which anſwer to the Italian ciciſbeo. It would be uncharitable, however, to ſay that this cuſtom is always attended with ill effects; though appearances may be unfavourable to them.

The weather is commonly very fine, the air pure, and the ſky ſerene here; but during the months of November and December, heavy rains fall;

fall; when travelling, in many places, is rendered impracticable, from the collection of water in the valleys. Even after the rains have ſubſided, it is neceſſary to wait ſome time before the communication between places can be renewed. Sometimes theſe heavy rains continue till February, after which ſcarcely a drop falls for five or ſix months.

About four leagues from Liſbon is ſituated the convent of Odivelas, where, it is ſaid, three hundred beautiful nuns formed the ſeraglio of the late king of Portugal and his court. We mention this to introduce a literary anecdote. A French author, ſpeaking of this nunnery, ſays, "I am aſſured, that the famous *Portugueſe Letters*, of which there is a French tranſlation, were produced in this tender, gallant, and voluptuous monaſtery. That theſe letters, which breathe moſt ardent and generous love, which paint it in all its ſhades, and all its details, were really written by an impaſſioned nun and a faithleſs lover."

JOURNEY

JOURNEY FROM
FORT PRINCE WALES,
IN HUDSON'S BAY,
TO THE
NORTHERN OCEAN,
FOR THE DISCOVERY OF COPPER MINES AND A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE,

Performed between the Years 1769 and 1772,

BY MR. SAMUEL HEARNE.

THE Hudſon's Bay Company, however, traduced by ſome, as being inimical to diſcoveries within the bounds of their charter, have, on more occaſions than one, ſhewn themſelves zealous in promoting whatever might tend to the honour or benefit of their country, as well as their own individual intereſts.

Animated with thoſe collective views, they appointed Mr. Samuel Hearne, one of their officers, to proſecute diſcoveries in a track little known, even from the report of the natives, who ſometimes reſorted to the ſettlement. In his inſtructions, he was directed to proceed towards latitude 70 deg. north, to endeavour to trace the Far-off-Metal River to its mouth, to explore the ſituation of the copper mines, if any, of which indiſtinct accounts had been given; and, in ſhort, to attend

to

to any localities which might be productive of an extended commerce, or geographical knowledge.

His firſt attempt was made in the cloſe of the year 1769, when, after proceeding about two hundred miles, his Indian guides deſerted him; and it was with great difficulty he regained the ſettlement at Fort Prince Wales. Not daunted by this unſucceſsful expedition, he ſet out again on the 23d of February 1770, accompanied by three northern and two ſouthern Indians. Having travelled, without any material occurrence, for upwards of a month, the difficulties of proceeding farther, till the ſeaſon became more advanced, were ſo great, that they were induced to pitch their winter tent, in which they lodged till the 27th of April, when they again reſumed their journey.

They reached the river Cathawhachaga, in latitude 63 deg. 4 min. north, about the beginning of July. In their way to the weſtward they croſſed ſeveral other rivers, ſometimes in a canoe, which they carried with them, and ſometimes by fording. As their diſtreſſes multiplied, the Indians again began to ſhew diſſatisfaction; but by an unfortunate accident, on the 11th of Auguſt, the quadrant was broke, at a time when they found themſelves in latitude 63 deg. 10 min. north, longitude 10 deg. 40 min. weſt of Churchill river; and this laid Mr. Hearne under the diſagreeable neceſſity of returning again to the fort. After experiencing incredible diſtreſſes, he reached the ſettlement on the 25th of November, and thus ended his ſecond abortive attempt.

Still reſolute to accompliſh the buſineſs committed to him, and taught by experience how to provide againſt ſeveral ills that he had undergone in

in his former journeys, Mr. Hearne, with the approbation of the factory, made preparations for a third expedition, which, as it was more intereſting, as well as ſucceſsful, we mean to detail at ſome length.

Having engaged an Indian chief, named Matonabbee, as his guide, who clearly and ſenſibly pointed out the cauſes which had contributed to their former failures, and deſcribed the plan he would wiſh to recommend in this attempt, Mr. Hearne ſet out again, with a party belonging to the Indian chief, on the 7th of December 1770; and for ſome days they found the weather tolerably mild for that ſeaſon of the year.

On the 16th, they arrived at Egg River, where Matonabbee and his friends had ſecured, as they thought, ſome proviſions and neceſſary implements a ſhort time before. On examining the place of the depoſit, however, they found the whole had been carried off by ſome of the Indians, who had paſſed that way; a loſs which was ſeverely felt by them, but borne with heroic fortitude; nor did a word of revenge, in caſe it ſhould be in their power, eſcape their lips.

On the 18th, as they were continuing their courſe, they diſcovered ſeveral joints of deer in good preſervation, which had been recently killed by ſome unknown Indians. On this they feaſted with much ſatisfaction, as they had fared very hard for ſome preceding days. Entering ſome woods on the 26th, they had the good fortune to kill four deer; and as they had not taſted any thing for three days, except a pipe of tobacco and a draught of ſnow water, their ſtrength, loaded as they were, was beginning to fail, and they

they requeſted leave to halt a day, to refreſh themſelves.

Our author ſays, he never ſpent ſuch a melancholy Chriſtmas in his life; and when he reflected on the delicacies that were then expending in every part of Chriſtendom, under the preſſure of fatigue and hunger, he could not refrain from wiſhing himſelf in a more genial clime. The Indians, however, kept in good ſpirits, and flattered him that they would ſoon find better roads, and deer and game in greater plenty.

Directing their courſe to the weſtward, they entered on thick ſhrubby woods, conſiſting chiefly of ſtunted pines and dwarf junipers, with ſome few willow buſhes and poplars.

On the 30th, they arrived at the eaſt ſide of Iſland Lake, where they killed two large deer. In the evening of that day the guide was taken ill; and from the nature of his complaint, it appeared, that gorging ſome days before was the principal cauſe of it. Nothing is more common, indeed, than for thoſe people to overload their ſtomachs after being weakened by long faſting, and the effect of this cannot but be felt. Yet, though they are voluptuaries, when it is in their power, no nation can ſupport longer abſtinence, or ſhew more fortitude under the privation of every neceſſary.

On the 1ſt of January 1771, they proceeded on about ſixteen miles along the ſame lake, when they came to two tents, in which ſome of the wives and families of Matonabbee's party had been left, waiting their huſbands' return from the fort. Here they found two men, and about twenty women and children; and as thoſe two men had neither gun nor ammunition, they had no

no other means of ſubſiſting themſelves and friends, but by catching fiſh, and ſnaring a few rabbits. The former were plentiful, and conſiſted of pike, barbel, and trout, with ſome fiſh for which we have no Engliſh name.

The centre of Iſland Lake lies in latitude 60 deg. 45 min. north, longitude 102 deg. 25 min. weſt from London. It is in ſome places about thirty-five miles wide, and is ſo full of iſlands, that the whole lake reſembles a jumble of winding rivers and creeks. Fiſh is abundant in every part, and therefore, it is a favourite ſtation with the northern Indians, who viſit Prince of Wales's Fort in autumn. Many of the iſlands, as well as the mainland round the lake, are covered with dwarf wood. The face of the country, like all that to the north of Seal River, is hilly and full of rocks.

Purſuing their journey towards the north-weſt, their proviſions ran very ſhort, till the 16th, when the Indians killed no fewer than twelve deer. This ſupply induced them to halt a few days, in order to dry and pound ſome meat, to render it lighter of carriage.

Having, by the 22d, prepared a ſufficient ſtock of portable proviſions, and repaired their ſledges and ſnow ſhoes, they reſumed their journey. In the afternoon of that day, they fell in with a ſtranger who had one of Matonabbee's wives under his care. This was the firſt perſon they had ſeen, in travelling ſome hundred miles, who was not connected with their own party: a proof how thinly this part of the country was peopled.

Next day they found deer ſtill more numerous; and contragulated themſelves on the proſpect of ſuffering no more want during the winter.

On the 3d of February, they were ſo near the edge of the woods, that the barren land was in ſight to the northward; and as the woods trended to the weſt, they were obliged to travel more in that direction, for the ſake of keeping among them, and conſequently among the deer. This day they ſaw ſeveral ſtrangers, ſome of whom joined their party.

On the 6th, they croſſed the main branch of Cathawhachaga River, about three quarters of a mile broad; and ſoon after arrived at the ſide of Partridge Lake, which they croſſed on the ice next day, where it was about fourteen miles over. The intenſity of the cold was beyond expreſſion, and many of the crew were froſt bitten. One of the Matonabbee's wives was ſo frozen, as to be almoſt incruſted on the lower parts with ice; and as ſhe was thawing in great pain, her companions only jeered her, and told her ſhe was rightly ſerved for belting her clothes ſo high; a circumſtance which they aſcribed to the vanity of ſhewing a well-turned leg.

After paſſing Partridge Lake, they found deer ſo abundant for many days, that the Indians killed more than they could eat or carry with them. Accuſtomed themſelves to ſubſiſt on precarious ſupplies, they have no idea of ſaving for the benefit of others; and riot on game when they fall in with it, regardleſs of their real wants, or the future conſequences of the devaſtation they make.

On the 21ſt, they croſſed the Snow-bird Lake, and found deer as plentiful as before, ſo that much time was expended in killing and eating them; but as Mr. Hearne was aſſured that the ſeaſon would by no means permit them to proceed in a direct

direct line to the Copper-Mine River, this delay was of little conſequence.

In croſſing Pike Lake, on the 3d of March, they came up to a large tent of northern Indians, who had been living there from the beginning of winter, and had employed that long interval in catching deer in a pound. Indeed, ſo ſucceſsful is this method of ſporting, in a country where the game is ſo abundant, that many families ſubſiſt by it, without having occaſion to move their tents above once or twice in the courſe of a whole winter.

Such an eaſy mode of procuring ſubſiſtence in the winter months, is a capital bleſſing to the aged and the infirm; but is apt to render the young and active indolent and inert; for as thoſe parts of the country, where deer abound, are deſtitute of every animal of the fur kind, it cannot be ſuppoſed that ſuch as can live with ſo little toil, will give themſelves the trouble of hunting for furs, which are requiſite to procure them ammunition and other European commodities. Such is the language, our author obſerves, of the more induſtrious among the Indians themſelves; but in his opinion, there cannot exiſt a ſtronger proof, that mankind were not created for happineſs in this world, than the conduct of the miſerable beings who inhabit this wretched part of it*. None but the aged, the infirm, the women, and children, and a few who are regardleſs of opinion (and they are the happy few every where!) will ſub-

* Man was certainly made for happineſs; but his own fooliſh paſſions, or his being a ſlave to the paſſions or opinions of others, deprive him in every climate of his birth right. From theſe ſources flow the infelicity of man; not that nature has been unkind, or God unjuſt.

mit to remain in the parts where food and clothing are to be procured on ſuch eaſy terms; becauſe they cannot ſhine as hunters, or accumulate furs. And what do the more induſtrious gain by all their trouble? Their real wants are eaſily ſupplied. A hatchet, an ice chiſſel, a file, and a knife are all that is required to enable them to procure a comfortable livelihood; and thoſe who aim at more, are always the moſt unhappy, and have the moſt numerous wants to ſupply.

Thoſe who bring their furs to the factory, indeed, pride themſelves much on the reſpect which is ſhewn them by the Engliſh; to obtain which, they frequently run the riſk of being ſtarved in their way thither or back; and all they can poſſibly procure for their year's labour, ſeldom amounts to more than is ſufficient to yield a bare ſubſiſtence till the return of the ſeaſon; while ſuch as are deſpiſed for their indolence or want of ſpirit, generally live in a ſtate of plenty; and conſequently muſt be moſt happy and moſt independent alſo. He therefore is at once the greateſt philoſopher and the wiſeſt man, who lives for himſelf, his family, and friends; and laughs at the madneſs of ambition, and the whiſtlings of a name.

Having ſtopped a night in company with the Indians whom they found on the Pike Lake, they began croſſing the remainder of it next morning; but though the weather was fine, and the whole breadth not more than twenty-ſeven miles, the Indians were ſo full of play, that they were upwards of two days before they reached the weſt ſide of it.

On the 8th of March, they lay near a place called Black Bear Hill, where they killed two deer; and next day they had ſuch fine pleaſant weather,

weather, as gave them the prelude of ſpring, though little thaw was yet viſible.

On the 19th, they ſaw the track of ſeveral ſtrangers; and on the ſubſequent day came up to five tents of northern Indians, who had reſided there great part of the winter, ſnaring deer.

At this place, a ſtorm came on which raged with ſuch violence, that they did not move for ſeveral days; and as ſome of the Indians they had fallen in with, were proceeding to Fort Prince Wales, Mr. Hearne embraced the opportunity of ſending a letter by them to the chief, to acquaint him with his progreſs. The latitude here was calculated to be 61 deg. 30 min. north, longitude about 19 deg. 50 min. weſt of Churchill River.

The weather becoming fair and temperate on the 23d, they again purſued their way, and on that and the ſucceeding days, they fell in with ſeveral Indians, ſome of whom being acquaintances of the party, joined company.

Continuing to ſhape their courſe to the weſtward, on the 8th of April, they arrived at a lake called Little Fiſh Hill, and pitched their tents on an iſland in it. Here the Indians finding deer very numerous, determined to ſtay ſome time, and to lay in a ſtock of portable proviſions; becauſe, from the ſeaſon of the year, they were aware, that their game would ſoon quit the covert of the woods for the barren grounds.

At this time the party did not conſiſt of leſs than ſeventy perſons, who were lodged in ſeven tents. For ten days the hunting went on briſkly, and having procured an adequate ſupply of dried ſtores, they again ſet off on the 18th of April. After travelling about ten miles, they came to a tent of Indians, near the Thelewey-aza River.

From theſe people Matonabbee purchaſed another wife, though he had ſix before; and moſt of them of the ſize of grenadiers. Indeed the chief pride of an Indian is to have a wife of ſtrength rather than beauty; for in a country like this, where a partner, able to endure hard labour, is the chief motive for the union, and the attachment of ſex a ſecondary object, this preference of choice is not to be wondered at.

In general, the women here are far from being objects of attraction, according to our ideas of beauty; though there are a few, when young, that are not quite deſtitute of perſonal charms. Hard labour, however, hard fare, and a rigorous climate, ſoon render them wrinkled; and they have all the marks of decripitude before they are thirty. But this does not render them leſs dear and valuable to their owners, provided their ſtrength remains; and a woman who can carry eight or ten ſtone weight in ſummer, or drag a much greater weight in winter, is ſure of a huſband, whatever her perſon may be. As for good temper and mental accompliſhments, of ſo much conſequence in poliſhed ſociety, and without which the conjugal union muſt be a ſtate of miſery, it is here of little value. The men have a wonderful facility in making the moſt ſtubborn comply, with as much promtitude as the moſt willing; the command is given, and it muſt be obeyed.

Women indeed are kept at a very great diſtance. They perform the moſt laborious offices; and yet the meaneſt male in the family muſt be ſatisfied before wife or daughter is permitted to taſte a bit; and in times of ſcarcity, they frequently go without a ſingle morſel. Should they attempt

attempt to ſerve themſelves in ſecret, it muſt be done with great caution, as a detection would ſubject them to a beating at leaſt. Indeed, an embezzlement of proviſions would be a blot in their character which it would be difficult to efface.

As the vicinity of Thelewey-aza River afforded plenty of good birch, they halted there ſeveral days to complete the wood work for the canoes, and other neceſſary purpoſes. On the 20th, a brother of the Indian guide, and ſome others were ſent forward to a ſmall lake, named Clowey, to build a canoe with all expedition.

Juſt as the reſt of the party were about to move, one of the women was taken in labour, a circumſtance that detained them two days. The inſtant, however, that the poor woman was delivered, the tents were ſtruck; and with her child on her back and a ſmall burden beſides, ſhe was forced to keep pace with them, and frequently to wade knee deep in water and melted ſnow. Her looks, excluſive of her piteous moans, were a ſufficient proof of the anguiſh ſhe endured; and our author ſays, he never felt more than he did for this miſerable woman, whom it was not in his power to relieve.

When a northern Indian woman is taken in labour, ſhe is removed to a ſmall tent, out of the hearing of the men, and only women and girls are ſuffered to go near her. During the pains of parturition, no aſſiſtance whatever is given, the whole is left to nature; and when they are told of the aid which European women receive from their midwives, they will ironically obſerve, "that the many hump backs, bandy legs, and other deformities among the Engliſh, were undoubtedly

owing to the great ſkill of midwives and nurſes."

The children are always named by the parents, or ſome of their neareſt relations. Boys have various appellations, generally derived from place, ſeaſon, or animal; but the names of the girls are chiefly taken from ſome part or property of a martin; ſuch as the white martin, the black martin; the martin's head, the martin's tail, &c.

They now ſhaped their courſe nearly north; but the ſnow was ſo much melted from the heat of the ſun, that they were ten days in reaching Clowey, though the diſtance was not more than eighty-five miles from their laſt ſtation.

On their arrival at Clowey, a lake about twelve miles over, the 3d of May, they found their captain's brother and aſſociates had only diſtanced them three days. Here they were joined by ſeveral Indians from different quarters, all with an intent of building their canoes at the ſame place.

It was the 20th before the canoes belonging to Mr. Hearne's party were ready. Theſe veſſels are neceſſarily very ſlight and ſimple in their conſtruction, as it is ſometimes requiſite to carry them more than one hundred miles. Their chief uſe is to croſs lakes and unfordable rivers, after the ice is diſſolved; for in winter, both land and water are one ſolid maſs. The Indian employs no other tools in the conſtruction of his veſſel, ſave a hatchet, a knife, a file, and an awl; yet the workmanſhip is not to be excelled by what the moſt expert artiſt could accompliſh with every tool in common uſe.

The ſhape of the northern Indian canoe bears ſome reſemblance to a weaver's ſhuttle, but the ſtern is by far the wideſt part, as there the baggage is generally laid, and occaſionally a ſecond perſon

perſon ſtretched out at his full length. The dimenſions are about twelve feet long, by two in the wideſt part. The bottom is quite flat. The ſingle paddle is generally uſed in ſteering.

Mr. Hearne diſtributed a little tobacco among the Indians they fell in with at Clowey; and indeed, a pipe or two, and ſometimes a preſent of a few inches of roll tobacco, were always expected by every ſtranger of any conſequence. This conſtant demand, added to the conſumption of his own party, diminiſhed his ſtores more than one half, before he had proceeded thus far. Gunpowder and ſhot are likewiſe articles of high eſtimation among the the Indians; and Matonabbee, from his own ſupplies, liberally gratified his countrymen with them.

Leaving Clowey, they proceeded northward. Soon after they fell in with ſome ſtrangers, who informed them that Captain Keelſhies was within a day's walk to the ſouthward. By this chief, our author had diſpatched a letter to the Fort in his laſt attempt, juſt before the quadrant was broke; and they had not met ſince. Two young men were therefore commiſſioned to proceed to Keelſhies ſtation, to receive the letters and goods that had been intruſted to him on Mr. Hearne's account. Theſe returned on the 22d, and reported that Captain Keelſhies intended to join them in a few days, and deliver the things with his own hand.

The evening of the 24th of May, the weather was exceſſively bad, accompanied with violent thunder and lightning. Next morning, however, the wind veering about, it became intenſely cold and froſty, which much impeded their progreſs. The country over which they travelled now, was quite barren, and ſprinkled with a few dry ſtumps of trees.

On

On the 27th, reſuming their journey, they walked about twelve miles to the northward, on the ice of a ſmall river that falls into Peſhew Lake. Seeing a ſmoke to the ſouthward, they advanced to an iſland in that lake, and there pitched their tents with an intention of waiting the approach of Captain Keelſhies.

In the night, one of Matonabbee's wives and another woman eloped; and it was ſuppoſed they had gone to rejoin their former huſbands, from whom they had ſome time before been taken by force. The chief was almoſt inconſolable for the loſs of his wife, though he had ſtill ſix remaining. Indeed it ſeems ſhe was by far the handſomeſt of his flock, and poſſeſſed every valuable and engaging quality to be found in an Indian. She appeared, however, unhappy with Matonabbee; and probably preferred being the ſole wife of a young fellow of leſs note, than to ſhare the divided affection of the greateſt man of the country.

Time immemorial, it has been a cuſtom among thoſe people to wreſtle for the woman to whom they are attached; and of courſe, the ſtrongeſt carries off the prize. Indeed, without a conſiderable ſhare of bodily ſtrength, or ſome natural or acquired conſequence, it is ſeldom permitted to keep a wife, whom a ſtronger man thinks worth his notice, or whom he wants to aſſiſt in carrying his goods.

This ſavage and unnatural cuſtom prevails throughout all their tribes, and excites a ſpirit of emulation among youth to diſtinguiſh themſelves in gymnaſtic exerciſes, to enable them to protect their wives and property.

The manner in which they tear the women and other property from each other, is not ſo much

much by fighting as by hauling each other by the hair of the head. Seldom any hurt is done in thoſe rencounters. Before the conteſt begins, it is not unuſual for one or both of the combatants to cut off his hair, and to greaſe his ears in private. If one only is ſhorn, though he be the weakeſt man, he generally obtains the victory; ſo that it is evident, addreſs will ever exceed mere ſtrength among all nations.

The bye-ſtanders never interfere on theſe occaſions; not even the neareſt relations, except by advice to purſue or abandon the conteſt. Scarcely a day paſſes without ſome overtures being made for conteſts of this kind; and our author ſays, it often affected him much, to ſee the object of the diſpute, ſitting in penſive ſilence, and awaiting the termination of the combat, which was to decide her fate. Sometimes a woman happens to be won by a man whom ſhe mortally hates; but even in this caſe, ſhe muſt be paſſive, ſhould ſhe at the ſame time be torn from a man ſhe really loves.

It is generally, however, young women, or at leaſt ſuch as have no children, who thus frequently change maſters; for few are fond of maintaining the children of others, except on particular occaſions.

Some of the aged, particularly if they have the reputation of being conjurers, poſſeſs great influence over the rabble, and ſometimes prevent ſuch irregularities. As far, indeed, as their own family and connections are concerned, they will exert their utmoſt influence; but when their own relations are guilty, they ſeldom interfere. This partial conduct creates them ſecret, as well as open, enemies; but fear or ſuperſtition prevents the ebulitions of revenge.

Unprincipled

Unprincipled and ſavage as the northern Indians may appear, in robbing each other, not only of their property, but their wives, they are naturally mild, and ſeldom carry their enmity farther than wreſtling. A murder is ſeldom heard of among them; and the perpetrator of ſuch a horrid crime is ſure to experience the fate of Cain: he is a wanderer, and becomes forlorn and forſaken, even by his own relations and former friends.

Captain Keelſhies joined them on the morning of the 29th. He delivered a packet of letters to Mr. Hearne, and ſuch goods as had been intruſted to him, which his own neceſſities, in the intermediate time, had not tempted him to uſe.

He cried often, in ſign of ſorrow, for having been obliged to embezzle ſo much; and as the only recompence then in his power, gave our author ſome ready-dreſſed mooſe ſkins, which were in reality more acceptable, in his preſent ſituation, than what Keelſhies had expended.

Same day an event happened that had nearly put an end to the expedition. An Indian joined them, who inſiſted on taking one of Matonabbee's wives by force, unleſs he gave him a certain quantity of ammunition, iron, and other articles. The man, it appears, had very lately ſold the woman to the captain; but having expended all the purchaſe value, he was determined to make another bargain for her; and as ſhe was a very uſeful woman, and dexterous in every female art, that gained credit among theſe people, the chief was reduced to the moſt mortifying dilemma. He was ſenſible he was not able to wreſtle with the claimant; he was exaſperated at the trick put upon him; however, after ſome hours ſquabbling,

bling, the preſents were produced, and the woman remained with Matonabbee.

But this indignity he could not brook; he threatened to renounce his countrymen, and to join the Athapuſco Indians, with whoſe chiefs he was well acquainted; and from whom he ſaid he had always met with more civility than from his own people. Had this reſolution been carried into effect, there would have been an end of the expedition to the Copper-Mine River; for the Athapuſco country lies in a different direction.

Alarmed with the proſpect of a third failure, though under no apprehenſion of perſonal ſafety, Mr. Hearne waited with anxiety till he thought the paſſion of the chief had a little abated; and then by ſoothing language, by the arguments of duty, intereſt, and fidelity to the Hudſon's Bay Company, he urged him not to abandon an expedition which could not be carried on without him, and for conducting which to a fortunate iſſue, he might expect not only favour, but reward.

Rage at laſt ſubſided; and the chief, though late in the afternoon, ordered his crew to advance, and after walking a ſome miles, they put up on another iſland in Peſhew Lake.

Having got to the north ſide of this lake on the 30th, every arrangement was made for facilitating the execution of the ſcheme. Moſt of the women and children were to be left under the care of ſome Indians, with orders to proceed to the northward at their leiſure, and to wait the return of the party from the Copper River, at a place appointed. Matonabbee took only two of his youngeſt wives with him, who were lightly laden;

and indeed, it was agreed on, that no one in the party ſhould carry more ammunition, or other articles, than was abſolutely neceſſary for the occaſion.

The women expreſſed great ſorrow at parting, and the chief was obliged to uſe all his authority to keep his part of them from following him. Their yells were moſt pitious, as long as they were within hearing; while the Indians walked on with a gay indifference, ſeldom thinking of thoſe they left behind, or confining their whole regard to their younger children.

They were now in latitude 64, ſo that they ſaw as well to walk or hunt by night as by day. Here they found a few deer, though this kind of game had long ceaſed to be plentiful, and they had chiefly ſubſiſted on their dried proviſions.

It ſhould have been obſerved, that a number of Indians joined them at Clowey, and intended to accompany them to the Copper-Mine River, with no other object than to murder the Eſquimaux, who, they underſtood, frequented that river in conſiderable numbers. This horrid ſcheme, it ſeems, was univerſally approved of, and every man equipped himſelf with a target, before he left the woods of Clowey. Nevertheleſs, when the women and children were about to be left, only ſixty volunteers followed Matonabbee's party; the reſt more prudently ſtaid with their wives and families.

As ſoon as Mr. Hearne was apprized of this barbarous intention, of murdering a people who had done them no injury, he zealouſly ſtrove to diſſuade them from ſuch a deſign; but ſo far were his entreaties from being regarded, that they apprehended he was actuated by cowardice,

and with many marks of deriſion, told him, he was afraid of the Eſquimaux. Knowing his perſonal ſafety depended on the ideas his attendants formed of his courage, he was obliged to change his tone, and affected the hero. He found it in vain, indeed, to attempt to ſtem the torrent of ſavage prejudice, or to inſpire more humane or juſt principles, and therefore he in future left them to their own diſcretion.

Being now exonerated from every uſeleſs encumberance or cauſe of delay, they purſued their journey to the northward with great ſpeed; but, owing to the badneſs of the weather, it was the middle of June before they reached the latitude of 67 deg 30 min.

In their way thither, they croſſed ſeveral lakes on the ice; and in ſome creeks and rivers they caught a few fiſh. Deer were ſo plentiful, that the Indians killed numbers merely for the fat, marrow and tongues: nor was it poſſible to make them deſiſt from this unneceſſary deſtruction of the poor animals. They inſiſted on it, that killing plenty of deer or other game in one ſeaſon, would never make them ſcarce in another; and that when it was in their power to live on the beſt, it would be folly to neglect it. Such are the narrow, ſelfiſh views of people who are deſtitute of elegancies, and who, at beſt, have the means of no more than a precarious ſubſiſtence.

Having paſſed Cogead Lake, on the 20th of June, on the ice, the following day they were ſurrounded by ſuch a thick fog, that they could not ſee their way. However, in a few hours, the ſun broke out, and did not ſet at all; a convincing proof that they were then within the arctic polar circle.

On the 22d, they arrived at a branch of Congecathawhachaga River; and as the ice was now broken up, they paſſed it in their canoes, with the friendly aſſiſtance of ſome Copper Indians, whom they found on its banks, employed in killing deer.

Matonabbee, and many of his countrymen, were perſonally acquainted with moſt of thoſe Copper Indians; and their meeting was highly grateful to both parties. A feaſt of dried meat and fat was prepared, and Matonabbee and his friends were invited to partake of it.

The Copper Indians being made acquainted with the object of the preſent journey, highly approved of it, and even offered their aſſiſtance, particularly in lending their canoes, which they ſaid would be very uſeful during the remainder of the journey. Our author, according to his inſtructions, ſmoked the calumet of peace with the principal of the Copper Indians, who was delighted with the proſpect of a ſettlement in his country; and ſeemed to think there could be no impediment to prevent it; for though he acknowledged that he had never ſeen the ſea clear of ice at the mouth of the Copper River, yet it did not occur to him, that this muſt prevent ſhips from approaching their territories.

The whole party of the Copper Indians, notwithſtanding they had never ſeen an Engliſhman before, were extremely civil and obliging; and our traveller made them a preſent of ſome ſuch article as he had, to conciliate their affection the more. They pronounced him to be a perfect human being, except in the colour of his hair and eyes; the former they ſaid was like the ſtained hair of a buffaloe's tail; and the latter like thoſe of a gull. The whiteneſs of his ſkin they thought no

no ornament; and compared it to fleſh ſodden in water. However, he was conſidered as a great curioſity, and treated with much reſpect. When he combed his head, they aſked for the hairs that came off, which they carefully wrapped up, ſaying, "when I ſee you again, you ſhall ſee this." Hence it ſeems, that among the civilized and uncivilized, a lock of hair is regarded as a proof of affection, or as a memorial of friendſhip.

Matonabbee now diſpatched his brother and ſeveral Copper Indians, to Copper-Mine River, to announce the arrival of the ſtrangers, and the objects they had in view; and that they might meet with a more welcome reception, tobacco and other trifling articles were ſent by the ſame conveyance, to be diſtributed in preſents.

As it was reſolved on to leave all the women at this place, and to proceed to the Copper-Mine River without them, it was neceſſary to continue here a few days to kill deer ſufficient for their ſupport, during the period of abſence. Though game was moſt abundant, ſo large was the daily conſumption, that it was ſome time before they could procure an adequate ſupply for the women and for themſelves. Meat, cut in thin ſlices and dried, is not only very portable but palatable; and, with care to air it during the hot weather, will keep for a year without injury.

Notwithſtanding the hoſpitable manner in which the Copper Indians behaved, in ſpite of Matonabbee's exertions, ſome of his party made free with their young women, clothes, and bows; a circumſtance very diſtreſſing to our author. The chief, indeed, did not ſeem to think there was much harm in monopolizing the women; but he endeavoured to repreſs the depredations

of his followers on other kinds of property, without making a due equivalent.

That a plurality of wives ſhould be the univerſal cuſtom among theſe tribes, is not much to be wondered at, when it is conſidered that they are the greateſt travellers on earth; and as they have neither beaſt of burden nor water carriage, every good hunter is under the neceſſity of having perſons to carry his furs to market; and none are ſo well adapted for this work as the women, who are inured to carry and haul heavy goods from their very childhood; ſo that he who is capable of providing for three, four, or more women, is, comparatively ſpeaking, a great man. Jealouſies, however, will ſometimes appear among them, notwithſtanding habit has familiarized them to their ſituation; but as the huſband is always arbitrator, the diſputes are ſoon ſettled, and ſubmiſſion muſt be paid to his commands.

The northern Indian women are the mildeſt and moſt virtuous of the North American natives; while the ſouthern Indian females are remarkable for the diſſoluteneſs and indecency of their manners. In fact, they are ſo far from laying any reſtraints on their appetites and paſſions, that they indulge themſelves in all the groſſneſs of ſenſuality, and even of inceſtuous debauchery. No accompliſhments whatever, in man, can conciliate their affections, or preſerve their chaſtity.

But though the northern Indian women are incomparably the moſt virtuous, it is no unuſual thing for their huſbands to exchange beds with each other for a night. This, however, brings no diſgrace; but, on the contrary, is conſidered as the ſtrongeſt cement of friendſhip between families; and in caſe of the death of either of the

men

men, the other thinks himſelf bound to ſupport the children of the deceaſed, and is never known to ſwerve from the duty of a parent. Thus we ſee how nearly virtues and vices are allied.

Though the northern Indians make no ſcruple of having two or three ſiſters for wives at the ſame time; yet they are very particular in obſerving a proper diſtance in the conſanguinity of thoſe whom they admit to their beds. The ſouthern Indians, however, follow the moſt inceſtuous practices, without any ſenſe of impropriety.

By the 1ſt of July, they were ready to proceed on their journey; and having determined the latitude of Congecathawhachaga to be 68 deg. 46 min. north, and long. 118 deg. 15 min. weſt. from London, they ſet out. At firſt the weather was extremely unpropitious, and they made little progreſs. On the 4th it became more temperate, and they walked over the Snowy Mountains, as they are called. At a diſtance, they reſembled a confuſed heap of ſtones, utterly impaſſable; but under the guidance of the Copper Indians, who knew the beſt track, they paſſed them, though not without being obliged to crawl ſometimes on their hands and knees.

By the ſide of the path, in ſeveral places, were large flat ſtones, covered with many thouſands of ſmall pebbles, which the Copper Indians informed them had been gradually collected by paſſengers going to and from the mines. Of courſe they added to the heaps.

As the ſnow, ſleet, and rain, fell without intermiſſion on the 5th, they halted; but next day they were able to advance about eleven miles to the north-weſt. Perceiving, however, the approach of a ſtorm, they looked out for ſhelter among

among the rocks, as they had done the four preceding nights; having neither tents nor poles to erect them with.

Next morning ſeveral of the volunteers deſerted them, being quite ſick of the hardſhips they endured. For ſome days they had not been a moment dry; even at night, the water was conſtantly dropping from the rocks that hung over them, and formed their ſole ſhelter from the inclemency of the weather. Except to light their pipes, it was impoſſible to kindle any fire.

Early on the morning of the 7th, they crawled from their receſſes, and as the ſun was hot, it ſoon melted the recent ſnow; and towards night they reached Muſk Ox Lake, ſo called from the number of thoſe animals they found on its margin. The Indians killed ſeveral of them; but as the fleſh was lean, they only ſtripped the bulls for the ſake of their hides.

This was the firſt time they had ſeen any of thoſe animals, ſince they left the factory. In the high latitudes, however, many herds of them may be ſeen in the courſe of a day's walk. The number of bulls is very ſmall in proportion to that of cows; ſo that there is every reaſon to believe they kill each other in contending for the females. In the rutting ſeaſon it is extremely dangerous for man or beaſt to approach them. They delight in the moſt ſtony and mountainous parts of the barren ground.

Though of conſiderable magnitude, and apparently little adapted for agility, they climb the rocks with the facility of goats; and like them too feed on every thing, moſs, herbage, or browſe.

The muſk ox, when full grown, is about the ordinary ſize of Engliſh black cattle; but their legs are

are ſhorter and thicker. The tail is ſhort, and always bent inwards, ſo that it is entirely hid in the long hair of the rump and hind quarters. The hunch on the ſhoulders is not very prominent; the hair, on ſome parts is very long, particularly on the bulls, under the throat, where it appears like a horſe's mane inverted, and gives the animal a very formidable appearance. It is of this hair that the Eſquimaux make their muſketto wigs. Towards the approach of winter, they are provided with a fine thick wool, or fur, which grows at the root of the long hair, and ſhields them from the intenſe cold of that ſeaſon, in this dreary climate. This covering of nature falls off on the return of ſummer, and immediately a new one begins to appear.

The fleſh of the muſk ox reſembles that of the mooſe or elk; the fat is a clear white, ſlightly tinged with azure. The calves and young heifers are good eating; but the fleſh of the bulls ſmells and taſtes ſo ſtrong of muſk, that it is almoſt intolerable. Even the knife that cuts the fleſh of an old bull, will ſmell ſo ſtrong, that nothing but ſcowering it can remove the ſcent. The organs of generation, however, and parts adjacent, are moſt ſtrongly impregnated.

The weather being fine and moderate on the 8th, they walked about eighteen or twenty miles, and meeting with ſome deer, they kindled a fire, and made a better and more comfortable meal than they had done for a week. Their clothes too were now dried by the ſun and wind, and they felt themſelves in paradiſe, compared with their late ſituation.

That night they lay near Bear Grizzled Hill, which takes its name from the number of thoſe animals

animals that retire hither to bring forth their young in a cave. Our author having heard ſo much of this ſpot, had the curioſity to view it.

He found nothing, however, to reward his labour, but a tumulus of loamy earth, in the middle of a marſh. There are ſeveral little hills of the ſame kind; but the higheſt is not more than twenty feet above the level of the ground.

On the ſide of Grizzled Bear Hill is a large cave, which penetrates a conſiderable way into the rock, and may probably have heen the labour of the bears, which have made numerous deep furrows in ſearch of ground-ſquirrels and mice, which conſtitute a favourite part of their food.

The weather being very favourable on the 9th, they walked a great number of miles, and by the way ſaw plenty of deer and muſk oxen. Next day, about noon, it became ſo hot and ſultry, that walking was quite irkſome; they therefore put up on the top of a high hill, and as the moſs was then dry, they lighted a fire, and would have been comfortable in other reſpects, had not the moſquitoes ſtung them in the moſt intolerable manner.

The ſubſequent day was alſo very ſultry. After walking about ten miles, they fell in with a northern Indian leader, named Owl-Eye, and his family, in company with ſeveral Copper Indians, killing deer with bows, arrows, and ſpears. Mr. Hearne ſmoked his calumet with theſe ſtrangers, and found them much leſs ſociable than their countrymen, whom he had formerly ſeen; for though they had plenty of proviſions, they would not part with a mouthful; but on the contrary tried to rob and plunder them of every thing.

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The 12th was ſo ſultry, that they did not move; but early next morning they ſet forward, in hopes of reaching Copper-Mine River that day. However, having mounted a long chain of hills, at the foot of which they were told the river ran, they found it to be no more than a branch of it, which fell into the main ſtream about forty miles from its influx into the ſea.

At this time all the Copper Indians were diſpatched different ways, ſo that none of them knew the neareſt road. Directing their courſe, however, by the ſide of this rivulet, in hopes of coming to the main ſtream, they fell in with ſeveral fine buck deer, which they killed, and feaſted on with great glee.

After regaling themſelves, and taking a few hours reſt, they once more ſet forward, and after walking about ten miles, they arrived at the long-wiſhed-for ſpot, the Copper-Mine River.

Scarcely had they arrived here, when they were joined by four of the natives with two canoes. They had ſeen all the Indians who had been ſent to announce their approach, except Matonabbee's brother and party, who had ſet out firſt.

Mr. Hearne was not only ſurpriſed, but mortified, to find the river ſo very different from the deſcriptions of it given at the factory. Inſtead of being navigable for ſhipping, as had been repreſented, it would ſcarcely ſwim an Indian canoe, being every where full of ſhoals and frequent falls.

Near the edge of the ſtream, which might be about one hundred and eighty yards broad, were ſome kinds of wood; but though it ſeemed to have been more plentiful formerly, there was very

ry little in the vicinity, and none fit for any other purpoſe than the fire.

Soon after their arrival, three Indians were diſpatched to look out for any Eſquimaux who might be on the banks of the river; and every precaution was taken to prevent an alarm, that the deſtined victims might fall into their hands without apprehenſion.

On the morning of the 15th of July, Mr. Hearne began his ſurvey, and proceeded down the river, which was every where full of ſhoals; and in ſome places vaſtly contracted in its breadth. Next day he advanced about ten miles farther, and found it the ſame.

Soon after they ſuſpended the ſurvey for the day, the three ſpies returned, and reported that they had diſcovered five tents, in the moſt favourable ſituation for a ſurpriſe. All attention to the buſineſs of the ſurvey was now ſuſpended; the whole thoughts of the Indians were abſorbed in planning the beſt mode of attack, and of ſtealing on the poor ſavages, when aſleep, and killing them all.

Having croſſed the river in canoes, and got all the weapons in order, each painted a part of his ſhield with ſome figure, generally the ſun, moon, or ſome bird or beaſt of prey, in which they placed their reliance for ſucceſs in the intended engagement.

From the hurry in which this buſineſs was executed, and the deficiency both of ſkill and colours, moſt of the paintings had little reſemblance to any thing in heaven or earth; but they ſatisfied the artiſts, and that was ſufficient.

This piece of ſuperſtition being completed, they advanced towards the Eſquimaux tents with the

the utmoſt caution and ſilence; and though an undiſciplined rabble, and by no means accuſtomed to war, no ſooner had they entered on this horrid ſcheme, than they acted with the utmoſt uniformity of ſentiment. There was neither altercation nor contending opinion; all were united in the general cauſe, and as ready to follow as Matonabbee to lead.

Never was a reciprocity of intereſt more generally regarded; and if ever the ſpirit of diſintereſted friendſhip animated the breaſt of a northern Indian, it was here diſplayed in glowing colours. Property of every kind ceaſed to be private: each was proud of an opportunity of ſupplying the wants of his neighbour.

The attacking party was judged to be quite as numerous as the Eſquimaux, in their five tents, could poſſibly be; and beſides, being ſo much better equipped, nothing leſs than a miracle was likely to ſave the poor ſavages from a general maſſacre.

The land was ſo ſituated, that they walked under cover of the rocks and hills, till within two hundred yards of the tents. Here they halted, to watch the motions of the enemy, and would have perſuaded our author to remain till the engagement was over.

But though he diſclaimed having any interference in the deed of death, he thought it more prudent to accompany them; and the Indians were not a little gratified with his promptneſs to be of the party.

The laſt ceremonies were now performed, which conſiſted in painting their faces; ſome black, ſome red, and others a mixture of the two. They next made themſelves as light as poſſible

for running, by almoſt ſtripping themſelves naked. Mr. Hearne, fearing he might have occaſion to run with the reſt, pulled of his ſtockings and cap, and tied up his hair as cloſely as poſſible.

It was now near one in the morning* of the 17th, when, finding the Eſquimaux all ſtill, they ruſhed from their ambuſcade, and fell on the unſuſpecting ſavages, who did not perceive their danger till it was too late to avoid it.

The ſcene was ſhocking beyond deſcription. The unhappy victims were ſurpriſed in the middle of their ſleep; men, women, and children, to the number of twenty, ran out of their tents ſtark naked, and endeavoured to fly; but the Indians had poſſeſſion of the land ſide; and as they did not attempt to throw themſelves into the river, the whole fell a ſacrifice to unprovoked barbarity.

Their ſhrieks were moſt dreadful; but no part of this bloody affair filled our author with deeper horror, than the fate of a young girl, apparently about eighteen. She was ſtabbed ſo near him, that ſhe fell down at his feet, and twiſted round his legs; ſo that he could ſcarcely extricate himſelf from her dying graſp. He ſolicited hard for her life; but the murderers made no reply till they had transfixed her with two ſpears. They then looked ſternly at him, and in ridicule, aſked him if he wanted an Eſquimaux wife.

Though the poor wretch was twining round their ſpears, they continued their taunts; when Mr. Hearne begged they would at leaſt releaſe her from her miſery. On this one of them pierc-

* It is proper to obſerve, they were far within the arctic circle, where the ſun never ſets at this ſeaſon of the year.

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ed her through the breaſt. The love of life, however, prompted her to attempt to ward off the blow, which, in her ſituation, was the extreme of mercy to inflict.

"My ſituation," ſays our author, "and the terror of my mind, at the ſight of this butchery, can neither be conceived nor deſcribed. Though I ſummoned up all my reſolution, it was with difficulty I could refrain from tears: even at this hour, I cannot reflect on the tranſactions of that horrid day, without the moſt painful emotions."

But the brutality of theſe ſavages, to the bodies they had deprived of life, was ſtill as ſhocking, and certainly more inexcuſable. Their indecent curioſity in examining the conformation of the women, which they pretended to ſay differed from their own, made nature revolt at the idea.

When theſe people were all maſſacred, ſeven other tents, on the other ſide of the river, attracted their notice; but providentially for the Eſquimaux, the baggage and canoes had been left ſome way up the river, and there was no other way of croſſing it. The river here was about eighty yards over; and to alarm them, if they could not kill them, they began firing. The poor Eſquimaux, though on the watch, were ſo much unacquainted with the nature of firearms, that they did not attempt to fly. When the bullets ſtruck the ground, they ran with a vacant curioſity to ſee what it was. At length one of them was wounded in the leg, which immediately threw them into confuſion. They ran to their canoes, and were ſoon out of the reach of the northern Indians.

Having plundered the tents of the deceaſed, of all the copper utenſils they could find, they

aſſembled on the top of an adjacent hill, and forming a circle with their ſpears erect, claſhed them together, and gave many ſhouts of victory; frequently calling out tima! tima! or what cheer, by way of deriſion to the poor ſurviving Eſquimaux, who were ſtanding almoſt knee deep in the water.

After parading for ſome time, they ſet out for their canoes, and ſailing under cover of the bank, they approached the other tents, where the Eſquimaux, thinking probably they were gone, had returned, and were buſy in tying up bundles. Theſe were ſeized, but the owners fortunately eſcaped again in their canoes, except one old man, who was too intent on his buſineſs, and who fell a ſacrifice to their fury; for not fewer than twenty had a hand in his death.

As they were retreating from the firſt ſcene of blood, they found an old woman, ſitting by the ſide of the river, killing ſalmon, which lay very thick at her feet. Whether from the noiſe of the fall, or a great defect in ſight, ſhe had not been apprized of the murder of her companions, though not more than two hundred yards diſtant from the ſcene of blood; nor did ſhe diſcover her enemies, till they were juſt within reach of her.

To fly was in vain. She was pierced through with numerous ſpears, with the moſt marked and ſtudied cruelty.

The only inſtrument that this poor half-blind wretch had to catch ſalmon with, was a light pole, armed with a few ſpikes, which ſhe put under water, and pulled up with a jerk. Some of the Indians tried this method of fiſhing; and ſo extremely numerous were the ſalmon at this place, that

that they ſeldom brought up leſs than two at a pull.

Theſe fiſh, though very fine and beautifully red, were ſeldom more than about ſix or ſeven pounds weight; but their numbers were almoſt incredible, and equal to any thing related of the ſhoals in Kamtſchatka. Indeed the Eſquimaux have ſcarcely any other means of ſubſiſtence than fiſh.

After having plundered the ſecond encampment, the northern Indians threw the tents into the river, and deſtroyed a large ſtock of proviſions, merely from the infernal ſatisfaction of doing all the miſchief in their power to the unhappy Eſquimaux, who were ſtanding on a diſtant ſhoal, the woeful ſpectators of their loſs.

This buſineſs being completed, they refreſhed themſelves; and then told Mr. Hearne, that they were again ready to aſſiſt him in the ſurvey. He therefore inſtantly ſet about it, and purſued it to the mouth of the river, which was in every part ſo full of ſhoals and falls, as not to be navigable even by a boat. The tide happened to be out, and a bar evidently obſtructed the very entrance of the ſtream. At the eſtuary of the river, the ſea is full of iſlands and ſhoals, as far as the teleſcope can reach. The ice, though it was the 17th of July, was only partially broken up round the ſhores.

Finding, after all his labour, that this river was unfit for being the channel of any commercial intercourſe; and a thick fog and drizzling rain coming on, he did not wait to take an exact obſervation for determining the latitude, but immediately ſet out with his attendants, on his return to the ſouthward.

However, before we proceed, it will be proper to give a more particular account of the river and the country adjacent. Beſides ſome ſtunted pines, there are tufts of dwarf willows on the banks, plenty of what is called wiſhacumpuckey, ſome jackaſheypuck, and a few cranberries and heath-berry buſhes; but not the leaſt appearance of any fruit. Even this ſcanty vegetation decreaſes as the river approaches the ſea; and, for the laſt thirty miles, nothing is to be ſeen but barren hills and marſhes, ſome patches of herbage, and at the foot of the hills fine ſcurvy-graſs.

The general direction of the river is nearly north by eaſt, and its breadth varies from twenty to four or five hundred yards. The banks are generally a ſolid rock; both ſides of which correſpond, and furniſh an irrefragable proof, that the channel was formed by ſome violent convulſion of nature.

Some of the Indians pretend that the Copper-Mine River takes its riſe from the north ſide of Large White Stone Lake, which is diſtant three hundred miles in a ſtraight line; but our author cannot think that its ſource is ſo remote, otherwiſe he conceives its volume muſt be infinitely greater than it is.

The Eſquimaux, who reſide on this river, are rather low in ſtature, and though thick ſet, are neither well made nor ſtrong. Their complexion is a dirty copper colour, though ſome of the women are more fair. Their dreſs reſembles that of the Greenlanders in Davis's Straights, except that the women's boots are not ſtiffened out with whalebone, and the tails of their jackets are much ſhorter.

Their arms and fiſhing tackle exactly reſemble thoſe of their nation in Hudſon's Straights, but for

for want of edge-tools, are inferior in workmanſhip.

Their tents are made of parchment deer ſkins in the hair, and are pitched in a circular form. In winter, however, they have huts half underground, riſing and pointed like a cone: theſe are always erected in the moſt ſheltered ſituations.

Their domeſtic utenſils conſiſt of ſtone kettles and wooden troughs; diſhes, ſcoops, and ſpoons made of the horns of the muſk ox. Some of their kettles are capable of containing five or ſix gallons, and are hollowed out in the form of an oblong ſquare, with no other inſtrument, than a harder ſtone to work with.

Their hatchets are made of a thick lump of copper, about five or ſix inches long, and about two inches ſquare, bevelled away like a mortice-chiſſel, with a handle about a foot, or more, in length. Neither the weight nor the ſharpneſs will admit of the tool being uſed with much ſucceſs by itſelf, and therefore it is generally applied to the wood like a chiſſel, and driven in with a heavy club.

The ſpears and knives are alſo made of copper, and among the ſpoils of twelve tents, only two ſmall pieces of iron were found.

Theſe people had a fine breed of dogs, with ſharp erect ears, ſharp noſes and buſhy tails. They were all tied to ſtones, probably to prevent them from eating the fiſh that was ſpread out to dry on the rocks. The Indians did not meddle with thoſe animals; but after they had retired, lamented they had not brought off ſome of them for uſe.

Though there appeared ſcarcely any difference between theſe people and the natives of Hudſon's Bay,

Bay, in their general appearance and domeſtic economy, yet as the former had all the hair of their heads pulled out by the roots, they might ſafely be pronounced of a different tribe.

Near the mouth of the Copper-Mine River they ſaw many ſeals on the ice, and flocks of marine fowls flying about the ſhores. In the adjacent pools were alſo ſwans and geeſe in a moulting ſtate, and in the marſhes ſome curlews and plovers.

That the muſk oxen, deer, bears, wolves, wolverenes, foxes, alpine hares, and various other quadrupeds, are the conſtant denizens of this coaſt, is a fact that may be depended on. Mr. Hearne did not ſee any bird peculiar to thoſe parts, except what the Copper Indians call the Alarm Bird. It appears to be of the owl genus; and its name is ſaid to be well adapted to its qualities. When it deſcries either man or beaſt, it directs its flight towards them, and hovering over them, forms gyrations round their head. Should two objects at once arreſt their attention, they fly from the one to the other alternately, making a loud ſcreaming, like the crying of a child. In this manner they will follow travellers for a whole day.

The Copper Indians have a great value for thoſe birds, as they frequently indicate the approach of ſtrangers, or conduct them to herds of deer and muſk oxen, which, without ſuch aſſiſtance, they might poſſibly miſs.

Unfortunately, however, for the Eſquimaux, they do not ſeem to place the ſame faith in the alarm bird. If they had, they muſt neceſſarily have been apprized of the approach of the northern Indians, as all the time they lay in ambuſh, before

before the maſſacre began, a flock of them was continually flying about, and alternately hovering over the tents of the aſſailants.

But to return. Having walked about thirty miles ſouth eaſtward of the river, they came to one of the copper mines, if it deſerves that appellation. It is no more than a jumble of rocks and gravel, which have been rent by an earthquake, and through which rolls a ſmall ſtream.

The Indians, whoſe partial accounts gave riſe to this expedition, repreſented the mine as ſo immenſely rich, that a ſhip might be ballaſted with the ore inſtead of ſtone, with perfect facility; and that the hills were entirely compoſed of that metal, all in portable lumps. After a ſearch of four hours, however, Mr. Hearne and his attendants could find only one piece of copper of any ſize, and that did not weigh more than four pounds. Yet it ſeems probable, that this metal has formerly been in much greater plenty, as the rocks and ſtones are every where tinged with verdegreaſe.

There is a ſingular tradition among the natives, that a woman firſt diſcovered thoſe mines, and that ſhe conducted her countrymen to the ſpot for ſeveral years ſucceſſively; but as ſome of them attempted to behave rudely to her, ſhe made a vow of revenge, and being reputed a great conjurer, ſhe put it in effect. When the men had loaded themſelves with copper, ſhe refuſed to return; and ſaid ſhe would ſit on the mine till ſhe ſunk into the ground with all the copper. Next year, when the men went for their annual ſupply, ſhe had ſunk down up to the waiſt, though ſtill alive, and the copper was vaſtly diminiſhed; and on their repeating their viſit the following year,

year, ſhe had quite diſappeared, and all the principal part of the mine with her; ſo that after that period, nothing remained on the ſurface but a few ſmall pieces*.

Before Churchill River was ſettled by the Hudſon's Bay Company, the northern Indians had very little iron work among them: almoſt every implement was made of copper; and to this ſpot they annually reſorted, till this metal began to fail, and they found other reſources, of a ſuperior kind. Yet to this day, the Copper Indians prefer their native ore for almoſt every uſe, except that of the hatchet, the knife, and the awl.

The Copper and Dog-ribbed Indians, lying ſo remote from the factory, generally uſe the intermediate tribes as brokers or chapmen; and in conſequence pay very dearly for every European article they ſtand in need of. Several attempts, it ſeems, have been made to induce thoſe diſtant nations to traffic immediately with the Hudſon's Bay Company, at the fort; but though liberal preſents have been given to thoſe who had the reſolution to venture ſo far, both for themſelves and their chiefs, the northern Indians have conſtantly plundered them of every thing, before they could reach their homes. This hard treatment, added to the many inconveniences that attend ſo long a journey, are great obſtacles in their

* In this tradition the circumſtances of the copper mines appear to be ingeniouſly veiled. At firſt, large lumps of metal were found on the ſurface of the earth; by degrees that was carried away; and afterwards none was to be had, except by digging in the bowels of the earth. From our author's deſcription, there is little doubt but that there are rich mines to be found here; but of what uſe would they be, when there is no means of conveyance for the ore?

way;

way; and will ever prevent a direct and regular communication between the Engliſh and them.

Soon after they left the copper mine, a thick fog, with rain, and at intervals, heavy ſhowers of ſnow, came on. This kind of weather continued for ſome days, and rendered their progreſs very ſlow and unpleaſant.

Early on the morning of the 22d of July, they were overtaken by Matonabbee's brother and a Copper Indian. They had viſited the Copper River, but met with no remarkable incident; and obſerving ſignals, which had been left for their return, they had travelled one hundred miles without ſtopping. The whole party immediately ſet out, and proceeded homewards upwards of forty miles that day.

The weather now became hot and ſultry; but this did not occaſion any delay in their march; and they made ſuch good uſe of their time, that, on the 24th, they reached Congecathawhachaga, where the women had been left; but, to their great mortification, they found that they had croſſed the river, and were gone on.

Obſerving a great ſmoke to the ſouthward, Mr. Hearne and his party immediately proceeded towards it, and when they reached the place, they again were diſappointed; for though the women had been there a few days before, they had left it, and ſet fire to the moſs, which was ſtill burning. Their track, however, was viſible, and early on the morning of the 25th they came up with them, by the ſide of Cogead Lake.

From the time they had left the Copper-Mine River, they had travelled ſo hard and with ſo little intermiſſion, that Mr. Hearne's feet and legs were conſiderably ſwelled, and his ankles were become

become quite ſtiff. The nails of his toes were likewiſe ſo much injured, that ſeveral of them dropped off; and before he came up to the tents of the women, almoſt every ſtep was printed in blood. Even the natives began to complain; but none of them were nearly ſo bad as he was.

As ſoon as he arrived at the women's encampment, he immediately ſet about bathing and cleaning his feet; and by the aſſiſtance of a common dreſſing and reſt, he was likely in a ſhort time to get well. Reſt, however, ſo eſſential to his recovery, was not to be procured; for, after halting a day, the Indians again reſumed their march, and he was obliged to follow them.

On the 31ſt they reached the ſpot where the greateſt number of the women, and all the children, were to wait their return. Here they found ſeveral Indian tents; but none of Matonabbee's party had arrived. However, a ſmoke being ſeen to the eaſtward, two young men were ſent in queſt of them; and on the 5th of Auguſt, they all joined, with a number of other Indians, ſo that they now filled forty tents. Here the former huſband of one of Matonabbee's wives, who had eloped, brought her back again; but the chief had the magnanimity to take no notice of her, and bade her depart; obſerving that if ſhe had reſpected him as ſhe ought, ſhe would not have left him, and therefore ſhe was free to go where ſhe pleaſed. The woman affected concern and reluctance, though moſt aſſuredly it was not ſincere. She returned to her firſt huſband's tent, and probably both were happy.

Several of the Indians being indiſpoſed, the conjurers, who are always the doctors, began to try

try their ſkill to effect their recovery. No medicine, ſave charms, is uſed for any complaint, whether external or internal. In ordinary caſes, ſucking the diſeaſed part, blowing, and ſinging to it, ſpitting, and uttering much unintelligible jargon, compoſe the proceſs of the cure.

For complaints in the bowels, it is common to ſee thoſe jugglers blowing up the anus till their eyes are almoſt ready to ſtart from their ſockets; and this operation is performed without regard to age or ſex. The accumulation of ſo large a quantity of wind is apt, at times, to occaſion ſome extraordinary emotions in the patient; and it is a laughable ſcene, in ſuch caſes, to ſee the doctor and the ſick perſon; the one blowing up wind, and the other eaſing nature, perhaps at one and the ſame moment.

When a friend, for whom they have a particular regard, is ſuppoſed to be dangerouſly ill, they occaſionally have recourſe to another very extraordinary piece of ſuperſtition, namely, ſwallowing hatchets, knives, or the like.

On theſe occaſions, a conjuring houſe is erected, by driving the ends of four ſmall poles into the ground, the tops of which are tied together, and then covered with a tent cloth, with a little aperture at top to admit the light. In the middle of this tent, the patient is laid; and ſometimes five or ſix conjurers, quite naked, enter; and ſecuring the door, kneel round the ſick, and begin to ſuck and blow the part affected. After a ſhort proceſs of this kind, they ſing and talk as if converſing with familiar ſpirits, which they pretend actually appear to them in the form of beaſts, or birds of prey.

Having finiſhed this ideal conference, they call for the hatchet, bayonet, or the like, which is always prepared by another perſon, and has a ſtring faſtened to one end, to aſſiſt in drawing it up again, after they have ſwallowed it; for they do not pretend to be able to digeſt, or paſs it.

Our author now ſaw an experiment of this kind. A man being dangerouſly ill, and ſome extraordinary experiments being judged neceſſary, one of the conjurers conſented to ſwallow a broad bayonet. The houſe was erected as before mentioned, the invocations took place; and the bayonet being called for, it diſappeared in the twinkling of an eye. Mr. Hearne ſays, he is not credulous enough to ſuppoſe that the juggler actually ſwallowed it; but he confeſſes, he could ſee nothing but the ſmall piece of wood at the end of the ſtring, or one ſimilar to it, between his teeth.

The juggler then paraded backward and forward for a ſhort time, when he feigned to be greatly diſordered in his ſtomach and bowels; and after many wry faces and hideous groans, by the help of the ſtring and ſome tugging, he at length produced the bayonet, apparently from his mouth, to the no ſmall ſurpriſe of the ſpectators. He then looked round with an air of exultation, and retiring into the conjuring houſe, renewed his incantations, which he continued without intermiſſion for the ſpace of twenty-four hours.

Our author admits he was not able to detect the deception, more particularly as it was performed by a naked man; and the natives themſelves ſeemed to exult at this triumph, as they ſuppoſed it, over his former incredulity. The ſick man ſoon recovered; and, in a few days

they proceeded to the ſouth-weſt; while the greateſt part of the ſtranger Indians left them.

On the 19th, they reached the ſide of Large White Stone Lake, which is about forty miles long. This is ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſource of the Copper-Mine River; a circumſtance which Mr. Hearne can neither verify nor contradict.

They found deer plentiful the whole way; and many were killed for the ſake of their ſkins only. The great deſtruction which is annually made among theſe animals is almoſt incredible; yet there appears no diminution of their numbers; but, in ſome places, they are even ſaid to be more plentiful than formerly.

It requires the prime part of eight or ten deer ſkins, to make a complete ſuit of clothes for a grown perſon, during winter; and all muſt be procured in the month of Auguſt, or early in September, elſe the hair will drop off with the ſlighteſt injury.

Beſides the ſkins with the hair on, each perſon wants ſeveral others to be dreſſed in leather, for ſtockings, ſhoes, and light ſummer clothing. Several more are alſo employed in a parchment ſtate, to make thongs, or netting, for various purpoſes; ſo that each individual expends, in the courſe of a year, upwards of twenty deer ſkins, in clothing and other domeſtic uſes, excluſive of tent clothes and bags.

Indeed, during winter, the ſpare ſkins produce a number of warbles, which the natives pick out and eat as common food. Some of them are as large as the joint of a finger; and the children, in particular, are very fond of them. Mr. Hearne ſays, that, except theſe warbles and body lice, he has taſted of every diſh in uſe among the natives;

but though he did not pretend to be over delicate, he never could bring himſelf to eat them.

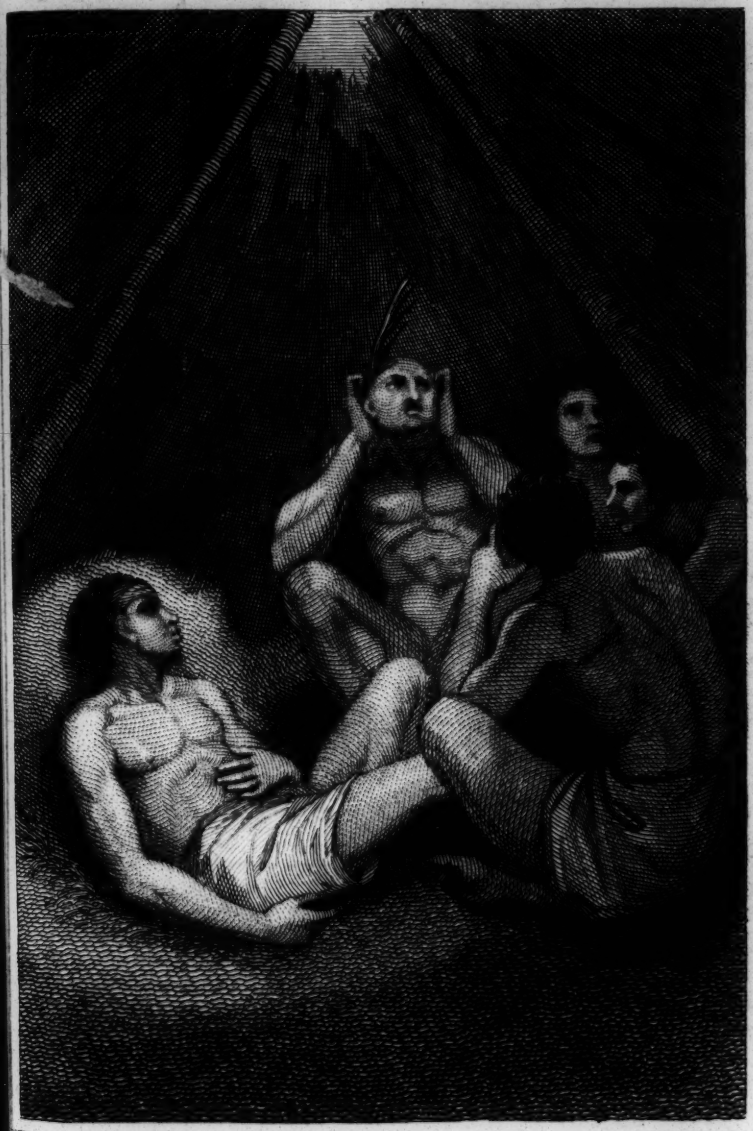
The month of October is the rutting ſeaſon, after which the bucks ſeparate from the does: the former proceed to the woods, and the latter keep in the barren ground the whole year.

The deer, in thoſe regions, are indeed generally in motion from eaſt to weſt, or from weſt to eaſt, according to the ſeaſon, and the prevailing winds. This is the principal reaſon why the northern Indians are always ſhifting their ſtations; for as deer are their chief food, and their ſkins are indiſpenſable, it is impoſſible for them to exiſt long at a diſtance from their game.

After leaving Stone White Lake, they proceeded to the ſouth-weſt, at the rate of about twelve miles a day; and, on the 3d of September, arrived at a ſmall river connected with Point Lake. Here the weather was ſo boiſterous, that it was ſome days before they could venture to croſs it in their canoes; but the time of the Indians was not loſt by this interruption, as they killed numbers of deer, as well for their ſkins as their fleſh.

In the afternoon of the 7th, they paſſed the river, and ſhaped their courſe by the ſide of Point Lake to the north-weſt. After three days eaſy journeys, they came to a ſcrubby wood, which was the firſt of any magnitude they had ſeen for upwards of three months.

One of the Indian women, who had been ſome time in a lingering ſtate, was now become ſo weak as to be incapable of travelling, which, among thoſe people, is the moſt deplorable ſituation to which a human being can be reduced. No expedients were tried for her recovery, whether for want of friends, or from the ſuppoſed inability



Kirk del. C. Rivers. sculp.

Northern Indian Conjurors with a Sick Man. p. 282.

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ability of it, is unknown; and ſhe was inhumanly left, unaſſiſted, to her fate.

This, it appears, is a common practice, ſhocking as it is; and they juſtify it by ſaying, that it is better to leave one who is paſt recovery, than for the whole family to ſit down and ſtarve in the ſame place. On ſuch occaſions, however, the friends, or the relations of the ſick, generally leave ſome victuals and water, and often a little firing, with plenty of deer ſkins. They then walk away crying, without mentioning the road they mean to purſue.

Inſtances have occurred of ſuch deſerted perſons recovering, and regaining their friends. The poor woman, juſt mentioned, thrice came up to the party; but at laſt her ſtrength totally failed her —ſhe dropped behind, and was noticed no more.

A cuſtom ſo unnatural is not often found among the human race; but the northern Indians are certainly not the only ſavages in this reſpect; and they have a better excuſe, from the neceſſity they are under to be active during the favourable ſeaſon, than any other people who are guilty of this violation of all ſocial feeling.

The early part of September gave indications that winter was approaching; and being now got among the woods, the Indians purpoſed halting for ſome time, to dreſs their ſkins for winter clothing, and to furniſh themſelves with tent poles, ſnow ſhoes, and temporary ſledges.

Towards the middle of the month, the weather became more mild and open, and continued ſo for ſeveral days; but they had almoſt inceſſant rain. On the 28th, the wind ſhifted to the north-weſt, and blew ſo cold, that in two days all the

lakes and ſtanding waters were frozen over, hard enough to bear them without danger.

October commenced with heavy falls of ſnow and much drift. On the 6th, the wind blew with ſo much violence as to overſet ſeveral of the tents, and, among the reſt, that in which Mr. Hearne lodged. By this misfortune, his quadrant, though well ſecured, was ſo much damaged as to be entirely uſeleſs; and he, therefore, divided its fragments among the Indians.

On the 23d, ſeveral Copper and Dog-ribbed Indians arrived at the tents, as it appeared, by previous appointment, and ſold their furs for ſuch articles of iron as the northern Indians had in their poſſeſſion. One of the Indians, in Mr. Hearne's party, got forty beavers' ſkins, and ſixty martins', for a ſingle piece of iron, which he had found means to purloin the laſt time he viſited the fort.

One of the ſtrangers brought forty beaver ſkins, with which he intended to pay Matonabbee an old debt; but one of the other Indians ſeized the whole, notwithſtanding he knew for whom they were deſigned; and this irritated the chief ſo much, that he renewed his reſolution of retiring to the Athapuſco Indians. Our author did not now much interfere in his determination, though he told him that he thought ſuch behaviour uncivil, eſpecially in a man of his rank and dignity; but he diſcovered afterwards, that they all intended to take a hunting expedition into that country, for the ſake of the mooſe and the beaver, which are either very ſcarce, or never ſeen in the northern Indian territories.

Indeed, except a few martins, wolves, quickhatches, foxes, and otters, are the chief furs to be met

met with in thoſe parts; and, out of ſome ſuperſtitious notion, few of the northern Indians chuſe to kill either the wolf or the quickhatch, which they ſuppoſe to be more than common animals.

By the end of October, all their clothes and winter implements were ready, and they once more began to move. From the 1ſt to the 5th of November they walked over the ice of a large lake, which, as it had no appellation before, our author called No Name Lake. This ſheet of water, or rather of ice, as it then was, is about fifty miles long and thirty-five broad, It is ſaid to abound with fine fiſh; and in the ſtate it then was, the Indians caught ſome fine trout and perch.

Having paſſed this lake, they ſhaped their courſe to the ſouth-weſt, and on the 10th reached the commencement of the main woods, when they prepared their proper ſledges, and proceeded again to the ſouth-weſt. No game was killed for ſome time, except a few partridges; however, they had by no means exhauſted their ſtock of proviſions.

After paſſing Methy Lake, and walking near eighty miles on a ſmall river that iſſues from it, on the 20th they reached Indian Lake. This piece of water, though not more than twenty miles over, is celebrated for producing plenty of fine fiſh even in winter; and accordingly the Indians ſet their nets with ſuch ſucceſs, that in about ten days they laded the women's ſledges with roes only. Tittimeg, barbel, and pike were the only fiſh they caught here. Two pounds weight of roes, well bruiſed, will make four gallons of excellent ſoup, very pleaſant to the eye, as well as the palate.

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The land round this lake is very hilly, and conſiſts chiefly of looſe ſtones and rocks. However, there are ſome parts well clothed with poplars, pines, fir, and birch. Rabbits were ſo plentiful here, that ſeveral of the Indians caught twenty or thirty in a night with ſnares; and wood partridges were no leſs numerous in the trees. The fleſh of the latter is generally black and bitter, from their feeding on the bruſh of the fir tree.

During their ſtay at Indian Lake, a man being entirely palſied on one ſide, the doctors, or rather conjurers, ſet about curing him; and the perſon who had ſwallowed a bayonet in the ſummer, now offered to ſwallow a piece of board, as large as a barrel ſtave, for his recovery.

After the uſual preparatory ceremonies, the board was delivered to the conjurer, who apparently ſhoved one-third of it down his throat, and then walked round the company, continuing to ſwallow it, till no part was viſible, except a ſmall piece of the end.

As our author had doubted the former trial of his ſkill, the Indians, to cure his unbelief, gave him the moſt favourable ſtation for ſeeing the exploit performed; but ſtill, though he could not be convinced of what was in itſelf impoſſible, he was unable to detect the impoſition.

Soon after, being queſtioned as to his opinion of the performance, as he was unwilling to offend by owning his ſentiments that it was a juggle, he only hinted at the impoſſibility of ſwallowing a piece of wood longer than the man's whole back, and twice as wide as his mouth. On this ſome of them laughed at him for his ignorance; and ſaid, that the ſpirits in waiting ſwallowed, or otherwiſe conveyed away, the ſtick, and only left the

the forked end apparently ſticking out of the conjurer's mouth. Matonabbee, though a man of ſenſe and obſervation, was ſo bigotted to the reality of thoſe feats, that he aſſured Mr. Hearne he had ſeen a man ſwallow a child's cradle with as much eaſe as he could fold up a piece of paper and put it in his mouth.

Though they pretend that the whole is done by the intervention of ſpirits, and that each conjurer has his familiar to aſſiſt him, who appears in various forms, there can be no doubt of the deception; but ſtill it is admirably performed.

As ſoon as the conjurer had finiſhed the ſwallowing remedy, five other men and an old woman, all proficients in the art, ſtripped quite nâked, and entered with him into the conjuring houſe, where they began to ſuck, blow, ſing, and dance round the poor paralytic; and continued this farce for three days and as many nights, without intermiſſion, or taking the leaſt refreſhment.

At laſt, when they came out, their mouths were quite parched and black, and they were not able to articulate a ſingle ſyllable. They laid themſelves on their backs with their eyes fixed, as if in the agonies of death; and for the firſt day were treated like young children, by being fed by hand.

The paralytic, however, had not only recovered his appetite, but was able to move all the fingers and toes of the ſide that had been ſo long dead. In three weeks he could walk; and at the end of ſix went a hunting for his family. After that he accompanied Mr. Hearne to the fort, and frequently viſited the factory during the following years. But his nature ſeemed quite changed; for from being lively, benevolent, and

good

good natured, he became penſive, quarrelſome, and diſcontented; and never recovered the look of health.

Though the reality of the deception performed by the Indian conjurers muſt be unqueſtionable, the apparent good effects of their charms on the ſick and diſeaſed, can only be accounted for on the principle of faith in the patient, which ſets the mind at eaſe, and inſpires hope, ſo eſſential to the well-being of man.

As a proof of the implicit confidence which is placed in the ſupernatural powers of theſe jugglers, even the threat of revenge on any perſon that has offended them is often fatal. The very idea that the conjurer poſſeſſes the means of deſtruction, preys on the ſpirits of the unhappy victims of his ill will, and ſoon brings on a diſorder that terminates his exiſtence. A whole family has ſome times ſunk into the grave, merely from the fancied dread of a conjurer's reſentment.

Mr. Hearne ſays, the natives always thought him poſſeſſed of this art; and, accordingly, he was once ſolicited to kill a man, who had offended a chief, and who was then ſeveral hundred miles off. To pleaſe his friend, he drew ſome rude figures on a bit of paper, and gave it to the Indian, who wiſhed for the deſtruction of his enemy. But what was our author's ſurpriſe to hear the next year, that the man, who was then in perfect health, being acquainted with his deſign againſt him, almoſt immediately ſickened, and died. He was frequently afterwards importuned to execute revenge on others; but having once eſtabliſhed his character by this fatal inſtance of Indian credulity, he never complied, in future, with ſuch requeſts. However, this gained

ed him credit with the natives, and ſerved to keep them in awe, when he was afterwards chief of the fort.

They left Indian Lake on the 1ſt of December, and directing their courſe to the ſouthward, they arrived on the north ſide of the great Athapuſco Lake, on the 24th. In their way they ſaw many deer and beaver, plenty of which the Indians killed. The days now were ſo ſhort, that the ſun only took a circuit of a few points of the compaſs above the horizon; but the brilliancy of the aurora borealis and the ſtars, even without the aſſiſtance of the moon, made ſome amends for that deficiency, and were ſufficient to enable them to hunt the beaver, though not the deer or mooſe.

In the high northern latitudes, every variation of the colour or poſition of the aurora borealis is attended with a ruſtling and crackling noiſe, like the waving of a large flag in a freſh gale of wind. As this phenomenon is ſolved on the principle of electricity, it is ſufficient to notice it, to make it intelligible to the ſcientific.

Indian deer, as they are called, the only ſpecies found in thoſe parts, except the mooſe, are vaſtly larger than thoſe which frequent the barren grounds in the territories of the northern Indians. Their hair is of a ſandy red colour during winter; their horns, though ſtronger, are leſs branching than the other kind; and their fleſh is more coarſe, but ſtill excellent food.

The beaver, however, was here the grand object of the Indians attention, both on account of its fleſh and fur. Much as Europeans have heard about this animal, which, according to ſome, is almoſt a rational being, Mr. Hearne has ſet the public right

right in various particulars reſpecting it; and detected the ignorance, or intentional falſity, of other writers on this ſubject, in numerous inſtances.

He ſays, the ſituation of the beaver houſes is various. Where theſe animals are very plentiful, they are found to inhabit lakes, ponds, and rivers, as well as the narrow creeks which connect the lakes. In general, however, they prefer the rivers and creeks, on account of the advantage of the current, to float the materials for their habitations.

Such as build their houſes in ſmall rivers and creeks, which are liable to become dry, ſhew an admirable inſtinct in providing againſt this calamity, by throwing a dam quite acroſs the ſtream; and in nothing do they ſhew more ability and foreſight than in this, whatever ſagacity ſome are ready to allow them.

Theſe dams are conſtructed of drift wood, green willows, birch, and poplar, mud and ſtones, or whatever materials can moſt readily be procured. Their houſes are alſo made of ſimilar articles, and always proportioned in ſize to the number of inhabitants, which ſeldom exceed four old, and ſix or eight young ones. It is a miſtake, however, to ſay, that they have different apartments for their neceſſary conveniences; all that the beaver ſeems to aim at, is to have a dry place to lie on.

It, indeed, frequently happens, that ſome of the large houſes have one or more partitions; but between the inhabitants of theſe, no more than a ſocial intercourſe is kept up; nor have they any common communication but by water.

The accounts we read, in ſome books, reſpecting the manner in which the beavers build their houſes and dams, Mr. Hearne aſſures us, are mere fictions.

fictions. They can neither drive piles, wattle their buildings, ſaw trees, nor uſe their tails as a trowel. Yet their ſagacity is not ſmall; and they perform all that can be expected from animals of their ſize and ſtrength.

Their work is entirely executed in the night, and they are ſo expeditious in completing it, that our author ſays, he has frequently been aſtoniſhed to ſee the quantity of mud they had collected in one night, or the progreſs they had made in a dam or houſe.

The chief food is a root reſembling a cabbage ſtalk, which grows at the bottom of lakes and rivers, and which is acceſſible to them at all ſeaſons. They are alſo fond of the bark of trees during the ſummer, and ſuch kinds of herbage and berries as the vicinity ſupplies.

When the ice breaks up in the ſpring, the beavers quit their habitations, and rove about during the ſummer, probably in queſt of a more favourable ſituation; but if they cannot ſuit themſelves better, they return to their old habitations ſoon enough to lay in their winter ſtock of woods.

Notwithſtanding what has been repeatedly reported, in regard to their forming towns and commonwealths, Mr. Hearne ſays he is confident, that even where the greateſt number of beavers are aſſembled together, their labours are not carried on jointly, nor have they any mutuality of intereſts, except in ſupporting the dam, which is common to ſeveral houſes. In ſuch caſes they have, no doubt, ſagacity enough to ſee that what is of utility to all, ſhould be repaired by the labours of each.

The beaver is capable of keeping a long time under water; ſo that when their houſes are broken up, and their retreats cut off, they generally retire to the vaults in the banks, as their laſt reſource; and here the greateſt number of them are taken.

In winter they are very fat and delicious eating, and their furs very valuable; but in ſummer, during the breeding time, and when they are roving about, neither their fleſh nor their ſkins are of much conſequence. They produce from two to five young at a time; and though ſeveral varieties of them are mentioned, it is moſt probable, that the difference of ſeaſon alone occaſions the apparent diſtinction *.

The beaver is a remarkably cleanly animal; and is capable of being, in a great meaſure, domeſticated. Mr. Hearne kept ſeveral of them, that anſwered to their names, and followed him and fondled on him like dogs. He had a houſe built for them, and a ſmall piece of water before the door, into which they always plunged, when they wanted to eaſe nature. In winter they lived on the common food of the natives, and were remarkably fond of rice and plum pudding. They would even eat partridges and veniſon freely; and were the conſtant attendants on the Indian women and children, for whom they ſhewed a great partiality, and were always uneaſy in their abſence.

After appropriating ſeveral days to hunting beaver, they proceeded acroſs the Athapuſco Lake, in the beginning of January 1772, and arrived on the ſouth ſide of it on the 9th. From the beſt

* Linnæus deſcribes three ſpecies of beavers, which appear to be diſtinct.

information,

information, this lake appears to be about one hundred and twenty leagues long, from eaſt to weſt, and twenty wide, from north to ſouth. It is full of iſlands, moſt of which are well clothed with trees, and ſtocked with Indian deer.

This lake produces vaſt quantities of fiſh, ſuch as pike, trout, perch, barbel, tittameg, and methy: the two laſt ſpecies of fiſh are peculiar to this country, and the ſhees, a fiſh reſembling a pike, to this lake only.

The trout here weigh commonly from thirty-five to forty pounds. Pike are alſo of an incredible ſize.

On reaching the ſouth ſide of this lake, they found the ſcene very agreeably altered. Inſtead of an entire jumble of rocks and hills, they entered on a fine champaign country, where ſcarcely a ſtone was to be ſeen.

Buffalo, mooſe, and beaver were very abundant; and in many places they could diſcover the tracks of martins, foxes, quickhatches, and other animals of the fur kind. The three former animals, however, were the ſole objects of the Indians purſuit, perhaps principally on account of the excellency of their fleſh.

The buffaloes appear much larger than the Engliſh black cattle, particularly the bulls. Their ſkin is of an incredible thickneſs, particularly about the neck; the horns are black, ſhort, and almoſt ſtraight, but very thick at the baſe. The tail is only about a foot long; and the hair of the body is ſoft and curled, generally of a ſandy brown colour.

The fleſh of this animal is entirely free from any diſagreeable ſmell or flavour, and is equal to

the fineſt beef. The hunch is reckoned a very delicate bit. The tongue alſo is much eſteemed.

The mooſe deer often exceeds the largeſt horſe, both in height and bulk; but the length of the legs, the ſhortneſs of the neck, and the diſproportionate ſize of the head and ears, give them a very awkward appearance; and prevent them from grazing on level ground like other animals. In ſummer, they browſe on the tops of large vegetables, and the leaves of trees; and in winter, they ſubſiſt entirely on the ſmall branches of the willow and birch trees.

They are the moſt inoffenſive of all animals, and never attempt reſiſtance. It is nothing unuſual for an Indian to paddle his canoe up to one of them, and take it by the poll without oppoſition. They are eaſily tamed; and Mr. Hearne ſays, he has ſeen ſome of them that would follow their keeper, and in every thing obey his voice.

The fleſh of the mooſe is good, though rather coarſer and tougher than other veniſon. The noſe and tongue are peculiar delicacies. All the external fat is ſoft, and when put into a bladder, is as fine as marrow.

In all its actions and attitudes, the mooſe appears very uncouth; its gait is ſhambling, and it is both tender footed and ſhort winded. The ſkin makes excellent tent-covers and ſhoe-leather, and is dreſſed for various other purpoſes.

On the 11th of January, as ſome of the Indians were engaged in hunting, they diſcovered the track of a ſtrange ſnow ſhoe, and tracing it, they came to a little hut, where they found a young woman alone. She proved to be one of the weſtern Dog-ribbed Indians, who had been taken priſoner by thoſe of Athapuſco, in the ſummer of 1770,

1770, and had eloped from them the following ſeaſon, when they were in the vicinity, with an intention of returning to her own country; but the diſtance being ſo great, ſhe had forgot the track, and had, therefore, built a hut for her protection, in which ſhe had lived about ſeven moons, without ſeeing a human face.

During this time ſhe had ſupported herſelf by ſnaring partridges, rabbits, and ſquirrels. That ſhe had not been in want was evident from her appearance, and the ſtock of proviſions ſhe had ſtill by her. Of a real Indian, ſhe was one of the fineſt women, in our author's opinion, of any he ever ſaw.

She had ſhewn infinite ingenuity in procuring a livelihood. When the few deer ſinews, ſhe had carried off with her, were all expended in making ſnares, and ſewing her clothes; ſhe had uſed thoſe of the legs of rabbits with much dexterity and ſucceſs. Of the ſkins of thoſe animals, ſhe had likewiſe made herſelf a complete and neat ſuit of winter clothes; and it was evident, ſhe had extended her care beyond mere comfort, as her dreſs exhibited no little variety of ornament.

Her leiſure hours had been employed in twiſting the inner rind of willows into ſmall lines, of which ſhe intended to make a fiſhing net. Five or ſix inches of an iron hoop ſerved her for a knife, and this, together with an awl of the ſame metal, were all the implements in her poſſeſſion. She lighted a fire by rubbing two hard ſulphureous ſtones againſt each other, and when a few ſparks were produced, ſhe had touchwood ready to receive them.

The comelineſs of her perſon, and her approved accompliſhments, occaſioned a ſtrong conteſt

among the party who ſhould have her to wife; and ſhe was actually won and loſt by almoſt ten men the ſame evening. Matonabbee, though he had no leſs than ſeven, women grown, and a young girl about twelve years old, wiſhed to put in his claim for her: but one of his wives ſhamed him from this, by obſerving, that he had women enough already. This piece of ſatire, however true it might be, irritated the chief ſo much, that he fell upon the poor creature, and bruiſed her ſo exceſſively, that after lingering ſome time, ſhe eſcaped from his tyranny and life.

It appeared that when the Athapuſco Indians ſurpriſed the friends of the young woman, they had butchered them all, except herſelf and three other women. Among the victims of their barbarity were her father, mother, and huſband. She had a child about four months old, which ſhe concealed in a bundle of clothing, and carried with her; but, when they joined the Athapuſco women, one of them ſnatched it from her, and killed it on the ſpot *. Her new huſband, ſhe ſaid, was remarkably fond of her, and kind to her; but this piece of barbarity ſhe could never forget, and took the firſt opportunity of eloping from the murderers of her infant. Affecting as this ſtory was, and told at the ſame time with correſpondent feeling, Mr. Hearne ſays, his party only laughed at it, and turned it into ridicule.

Continuing their courſe to the ſouth-weſt, on the 16th they arrived at the Grand Athapuſco River, at a place where it was about two miles wide.

* Diſgraceful as it is to the female character, our author informs us, that it is uſual for the women of the ſouthern Indians, when their huſbands are going to war, to beg that they will bring a ſlave for them to kill.

The

The ſurrounding woods were very luxuriant; and the banks of the river were nearly one hundred feet above the ordinary level of the water. The ſoil was rich and loamy, and ſome of the pines, that grew here, were large enough to make maſts for ſhips of the firſt rate. In the river are ſeveral iſlands, much frequented by the mooſe deer.

Agreeably to Matonabbee's propoſal, they continued their march up this river for many days, in hopes of falling in with ſome of the natives; but though they ſaw ſeveral of their former encampments, they did not diſcover one of the people. Thus diſappointed in their expectations, it was reſolved to ſpend as much time in hunting the mooſe, buffalo, and beaver, as could be allowed, conſiſtent with their purpoſed return to the fort, by the uſual period of the ſhips' arrival from England.

Accordingly, on the 27th of January, they directed their courſe to the eaſtward; but as game was very plentiful, they made frequent halts.

About the middle of February, they walked along a ſmall river, which empties itſelf into Lake Clowey, where they had built their canoes the year before. On the 24th, they were joined by a northern Indian leader and his followers, who preſented Matonabbee and our author with ſome roll tobacco, and about two quarts of brandy. The tobacco was very acceptable, as their ſtock of that article had been long expended.

As this vicinity abounded in game, many days were ſpent in hunting, feaſting, and preparing ſuch a quantity of fleſh, as might ſerve them for ſome time; well knowing, from experience, that a few days walk farther to the eaſtward, would deprive them of the living animals.

The

The ſtrangers, who had left the fort, about November 1771, ſoon proceeded on their journey to the north-weſtward; except a few who had been lucky in hunting, and reſolved to accompany them back to the factory, to diſpoſe of their furs.

On the laſt day of February, they reſumed their journey; and ſoon after the Indians fell in with a party of poor inoffenſive people, whom they plundered of all they had, and even carried off ſome of their young women. Theſe repeated acts of violent and unprovoked aggreſſion, ſerved to increaſe our author's indignation; and he felt very ſenſibly for this in particular, as it was committed on a ſet of harmleſs creatures, who were almoſt ſecluded from all other human ſociety.

It appeared that for upwards of a generation, one family only, as it may be called, had taken up their winter abode in thoſe woods, which are ſo much out of the uſual track of the other Indians, as to be very ſeldom viſited by them. The ſituation, however, was moſt favourable for game of every kind, at the different ſeaſons; but the general dependence was on fiſh and partridges. Theſe advantages had tempted this ſimple race to take up their abode here; ſeveral hundred miles from the reſt of their tribe.

By the 1ſt of March, they began to leave the level country of the Athapuſcos, and to approach the ſtony mountains, which bound the northern Indian country. On the 14th, they diſcovered the tracks of more ſtrangers, and next day came up with them. Among them was a perſon who had carried a letter from Mr. Hearne to Prince of Wales Fort, about a year before; and now accidentally

cidentally met him, and returned an anſwer, dated in June 1771.

Theſe Indians having obtained a few furs, joined their party, which now conſiſted of about two hundred perſons. Our author found great reaſon to lament the loſs of his quadrants, as he was unable to aſcertain diſtances and ſituations, however deſirable it would have been both for curioſity and information, in a country which no other European ever traverſed.

On the 19th, they took up their lodgings near Large Pike Lake, which they croſſed next day, where it was not more than ſeven miles wide. The ſubſequent day they paſſed Bedodid Lake, which is about forty miles long and only three broad; ſo that it has the appearance of a river. The Indians ſaid it was ſhut up on all ſides by high lands, covered with pines of vaſt magnitude, compared to which, the European firs are only like fruit trees.

The thaws now commenced, and from the latter end of March to the middle of April, they were conſiderable about noon; but it commonly froze at night, and walking was by no means pleaſant. The mooſe deer now began to become very ſcarce. On the 12th of April, they ſaw ſeveral ſwans flying to the northward, which being birds of paſſage, were conſidered as the harbingers of ſpring.

On the 14th, they pitched their tents on Theelee-aza River, where they found ſome families of ſtrange northern Indians, employed in ſnaring deer; and ſo poor, that they had not a gun among them. The villains, however, in our author's party, ſo far from adminiſtering to them relief, robbed them of every uſeful article, and abuſed

abuſed ſome of their young women in a manner too ſhocking to mention, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances he could make.

Deer being plentiful near this ſpot, they halted here ten days, in order to prepare and dry a quantity of the fleſh to carry with them.

The thaw now was ſo conſiderable, that ſome bare land appeared; and the ice on the ſtreams began to break up.

On the 25th, as the weather was very inviting, they again ſet out; but on the 1ſt of May, a heavy fall of ſnow came on, attended with a bitter gale of wind, which increaſed to ſuch a degree, that they were incapable of ſtanding upright, and the cold was extremely piercing.

The 2d proved fine with warm ſun-ſhine; and having dried their wet clothes, they proceeded to the place where it was intended to build their canoes; but in conſequence of a diſpute between Matonabbee and ſome of his countrymen, he determined to travel farther to the eaſtward before they ſet about this neceſſary duty.

For ſome days the weather was hot and pleaſant. On the 6th, they fell in with ſome ſtrange Indians, who were proceeding to the factory with their furs; and on the invitation of Matonabbee, they joined company.

After a reſt of four days, it was agreed on to leave the elderly people and young children here, in the care of ſome Indians, till the return of their relations from the fort. Matters being thus ſettled, they ſet out on the 11th, at a much briſker pace than before; and in the afternoon of the ſame day, overtook ſome more Indians laden with furs.

The

The 12th was ſo warm, and the water ſo deep on the top of the ice, as to render walking on it not only unpleaſant but dangerous. It was, therefore, found neceſſary to conſtruct their canoes without delay; and this buſineſs being accompliſhed by the 18th, they proceeded through ſwamps of mud, water, and wet ſnow, which froze to their ſtockings and ſhoes in ſuch large cruſts, as to render travelling very laborious, and to expoſe them to the danger of having their limbs froſt-bitten.

The weather, on the 21ſt, was ſo ſharp, that the ſwamps and ponds were once more frozen over; and they found it tolerable walking. This day ſeveral Indians turned back for want of proviſions; which now began to run ſcarce, and no new ſupplies were to be found, except a few geeſe.

The following day they had the good fortune to kill two deer; but the party was now ſo large, that four of the northern deer were not more than adequate to a ſingle meal.

On the 25th, ſeveral more of the Indians abandoned the journey, for fear of famine; and as they had travelled hard for ſome days, all heavy laden, and in great diſtreſs for want of food, ſome of them became too weak to carry their furs any farther, and many others, being deſtitute of guns and ammunition, were no longer capable of bearing them company.

Mr. Hearne, indeed, had plenty of both, but ſelf-preſervation obliged him to reſerve it for the uſe of his immediate attendants; eſpecially as geeſe and other birds were the only game they had to expect till they reached the fort.

The

The 26th was fine and pleaſant; and after walking about five miles, they fell in with and killed three deer, which, as their numbers were conſiderably leſſened, ſerved them for two or three meals, with little expence of ammunition.

They croſſed Cathawhachaga river on the 30th of May, on the ice, which broke up ſoon after the laſt of the party left it. Symptoms of bad weather now appeared; and it was not long before the rain deſcended in torrents, and obliged them, in the middle of the night, to retire for ſecurity to the top of an adjacent hill, where the violence of the wind would not permit them to erect their tents. In this dreary ſituation, they remained till the 3d of June, without the leaſt refreſhment; in the courſe of which time the wind ſhifted all round the compaſs, and they changed their poſition with it.

On the 4th, the ſtorm abated; and hunger compelled them to advance, wet and exhauſted as they were. In the courſe of that day's journey they killed ſome geeſe, but barely ſufficient to keep them from ſtarving.

On the 8th, however, they were fortunate enough to kill five deer, which put them all in high ſpirits; and from the numbers they ſaw, they began to indulge the hopes that more plentiful times awaited them, during the remainder of their journey.

On the 9th, as they were continuing their courſe in the direction of the factory, they ſaw ſeveral ſmokes, and ſpoke with different parties of northern Indians; but anxious to get on, they did not loſe much time in converſation.

For many days after, they found plenty of proviſions; and as the weather was remarkably fine

and pleaſant, their circumſtances were vaſtly altered for the better; and they almoſt forgot their former ſufferings. The thoughts too of approaching the fort gave them new reſolution, and moderate difficulties were overlooked.

On the 18th, they arrived at Egg River, from whence Mr. Hearne diſpatched a letter to the chief at Fort Prince Wales, to inform him of his being ſo far advanced. Here they halted a day to prepare food to carry with them.

Early on the morning of the 26th they arrived at Seal River; but the wind blew ſo ſtrong, that they could not venture to croſs it in their little canoes, before the afternoon.

On the 28th, as they were croſſing Po-co-thee-kis-co River, they were joined by ſome Indians from Fort Churchill, who brought them a little tobacco; and next morning they had the ſatisfaction to arrive ſafe at Fort Prince Wales, after an abſence of eighteen months and twenty days.

"Though my diſcoveries," ſays Mr. Hearne, "are not likely to prove of any material advantage to the nation at large, or, indeed, to the Hudſon's Bay Company, yet I had the pleaſure to think, that I had fully executed the inſtructions I received; and that this journey has put an end to all diſputes reſpecting a North-weſt Paſſage through Hudſon's Bay. It will alſo wipe off the ill-grounded and unjuſt aſperſions of ſome voyagers and travellers, thrown on the Hudſon's Bay Company, as being averſe to diſcoveries in this quarter." We ſhall now conclude this very intereſting journey with ſome additional remarks on the northern Indians.

In their perſons they are generally above the middle ſize, well proportioned, ſtrong, and robuſt;

but are leſs volatile and active than ſome of the other Indian tribes. Their complexion is of a dark copper caſt; their hair black, long, and ſtraight; and few of the men have naturally any beard, and what they have they carefully extirpate.

Their peculiar features, are very low foreheads, ſmall eyes, high cheek bones, Roman noſes, full cheeks, and in general long broad chins. Their ſkin is ſoft and poliſhed, and when they are clean dreſſed, they are quite free from any offenſive ſmell. They mark their cheeks with three or four parallel black ſtrokes, which is performed by running a needle under the ſkin, and rubbing powdered charcoal into the wound.

Moroſe and covetous, the name of gratitude is ſcarcely known among them. They ſeem to take a pleaſure in enumerating their wants, even where they have no proſpect of having them relieved; and frequently laugh at the dupes of their inſincerity.

Harſh uncourteous uſage ſeems to agree better with them than kindneſs; for if the leaſt reſpect be ſhewn them, they become intolerably inſolent. Yet, as in all countries and among all people, there are ſome who are capable of eſtimating indulgence without treſpaſſing too far.

To defraud the Europeans, and to overreach them in trade, are their pleaſure and their ſtudy. They diſguiſe their perſons, change their names; in ſhort, any thing to eſcape paying their lawful debts, or to enable them to contract new ones.

Notwithſtanding thoſe bad qualities, they are one of the mildeſt of the Indian tribes, the moſt ſober, and the moſt pacific.

Though

Though jealouſy is a general paſſion among the men, marriages are contracted without ceremony, and frequently diſſolved with as little. Young women have no choice of their own. Their parents match them to the man who ſeems beſt able to maintain them, regardleſs of age, perſon, or diſpoſition.

Girls are generally betrothed, when children, to men grown up. Nor is this practice deſtitute of policy; where the very exiſtence of a family depends ſometimes on the induſtry and abilities of one man. In caſe of a father's death, the poor female children would frequently be in danger of ſtarving, did not thoſe early contracts take place, which are never violated on the part of the man, till after conſummation at leaſt.

From the age of eight or nine, girls are ſtrictly watched and cloſely confined; deprived even of innocent and cheerful amuſements, and cooped up by the ſide of old women, employed in domeſtic duties of every kind. But the conduct of the parents is by no means conſiſtent with theſe rigid reſtraints. They ſet no bounds to the freedom of their converſation before their children.

Divorces are pretty common for incontinency, bad behaviour, or even the want of ſuch accompliſhments as the huſband wiſhes to find in a wife. This ceremony conſiſts in nothing but a good drubbing, and turning the woman out of doors.

Providence has mercifully denied the women the ſame fecundity as in more genial climes. Few produce more than five or ſix children; and theſe generally at long intervals, which enables the parents to bring them up with greater facility, than if they had ſeveral very young children to take care of at once.

At periodical times, the men and women have ſeparate tents; and this cuſtom is ſo univerſal and ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that if a woman chuſes to be ſulky, ſhe will make uſe of this privilege, as ſhe pretends, and abſent herſelf from her huſband, perhaps twice or thrice within a month, without his daring to examine into the circumſtances of the deception. A woman in this ſtate is never permitted to walk on the ice of rivers and lakes, or to approach where the men are hunting or fiſhing, for fear of preventing their ſucceſs.

For want of firing, rather than choice, theſe poor people are frequently obliged to eat their meat raw, particularly in the ſummer ſeaſon, when on the barren ground; nor do they ever feel any inconvenience from this. Mr. Hearne ſays, he has been frequently one of a party, who has ſat down to a freſh-killed deer, and aſſiſted in picking the bones quite clean.

Their poverty is ſo great, that not many of them are able to purchaſe a braſs kettle; ſo that they are under the neceſſity of continuing their original mode of boiling their victuals in large upright veſſels, made of birch rind. As theſe will not admit of being expoſed to the fire, the defect is ſupplied by red hot ſtones, put into the water; which ſpeedily occaſion it to boil. They have various diſhes, at which the delicate ſtomach of an European would revolt. The paunch of a deer, with all its contents, the parts of generation of all animals, both male and female, the womb of the buffalo, elk, and deer, are favourite viands among the northern Indians.

Bows and arrows, their original weapons, are now ſuperſeded by the uſe of firearms, except among

among the very pooreſt, or when they wiſh to ſave ammunition. Deer are frequently killed during the ſummer ſeaſon with arrows; but from diſuſe, the Indians are not very dexterous in the management of thoſe weapons.

Their ſledges are of various ſizes, according to the ſtrength of the people who are to haul them. Some are not leſs than twelve or fourteen feet long, and fifteen or ſixteen inches wide; but, in general, their dimenſions are much leſs. They are compoſed of boards, a quarter of an inch thick, and about five or ſix inches wide, ſewed together with thongs of parchment deer ſkin. The head, or forepart, is turned up, ſo as to form a ſemicircle of about a foot and a half diameter. This prevents the ſledge from diving into light ſnow, and enables it to ſlide over the inequalities of the ſurface.

The trace, or draught line, is a double ſtring made faſt to the head; and the bight is put acroſs the ſhoulders of the hauler, ſo as to reſt againſt the breaſt, which allows the greateſt exertion of ſtrength with the leaſt toil.

Their ſnow ſhoes are ſomewhat different from the generality uſed in thoſe regions, as they muſt always be worn on one foot, the inner ſide of the frame being almoſt ſtraight, and the outſide having a large ſweep. The frames are commonly made of birch wood, and the netting is compoſed of thongs of deer ſkin.

Their clothing principally conſiſts of deer ſkin in the hair, which ſubjects them to vermin; but this is far from being conſidered as a diſgrace; and, indeed, a louſy garment forms, in their eſtimation, a delicious repaſt. Diſguſting as this may appear, it is, perhaps, no more indelicate than

than an European epicure feaſting on the mites in cheeſe.

The track of land inhabited by the northern Indians reaches from latitude 59 to 68 deg. and is about five hundred miles in width. The ſurface is frequently covered with a thin ſod of moſs; but, in general, it is no more than one ſolid maſs of rocks and ſtones. It produces ſome cranberries, and a few other inſignificant ſhrubs and herbage; and in the marſhes are found different kinds of graſs: but nature has been very ſparing in her gifts in the vegetable claſs.

There is a kind of moſs of a black, hard, crumply appearance, growing on the rocks and large ſtones, which is of infinite ſervice to the natives, as it ſometimes furniſhes them with a temporary ſubſiſtence when no other food is to be procured. When boiled, it turns to a gummy conſiſtence, and is neither unpalatable nor unwholeſome. Fiſh and deer, however, conſtitute their principal ſupport; and theſe are, in moſt places, ſufficiently abundant at the proper ſeaſons.

When two parties of thoſe Indians meet, they make a full halt within a few yards of each other, and, in general, ſit or lie down for a few minutes. At length one of them, commonly one of the elders, breaks ſilence, and when he has made his oration, the ſpeaker of the other party begins his reply.

They have few diverſions; and in a country where want can only be warded off by conſtant diligence, it is not to be expected that they ſhould ſhine in elegant amuſements. Dancing, however, is not unknown among them; and this exerciſe the men always perform naked. The women, unleſs they are commanded by their huſband's

band's, or father's, never ſhare in it, and then always by themſelves.

A ſcorbutic eruption, conſumptions, and fluxes, are their chief diſorders. The firſt, though very troubleſome, is never of itſelf fatal; but the two latter carry off great numbers of both ſexes and all ages. Indeed, few attain to longevity, probably owing to the rigours of the climate, and the great fatigues they inceſſantly undergo. They never bury their dead, but leave them to be devoured by the birds and wild beaſts.

The death, however, of a near relation affects them moſt ſenſibly. They rend their clothes, cut their hair, and cry almoſt inceſſantly for a great length of time. The periods of mourning are regulated by moons; and they ſeem to ſympathize with each other on their reſpective loſſes, as if poſſeſſed of the fineſt ſenſibility; yet there is certainly much of habit in this, and the emotions of nature have only a partial ſhare, either in their ſorrow or condolence.

Religion, as a rule of life, has not yet begun to dawn among the northern Indians, ſuperſtitious as they are. Yet they think and ſpeak reſpectfully of the devotion of others; and ſome of them are not unacquainted with the hiſtory of the great Author of Chriſtianity. Matonabbee, who, our author ſays, was one of the beſt informed and ſenſible men he ever knew among them, gave the following account of his countrymen. "Their only object is to conſult their intereſt, inclinations, and paſſions; and to paſs through this world with as much eaſe and contentment as poſſible, without any hopes of reward, or painful fear of puniſhment in the next." Theſe are the ſentiments and the objects of the irreligious in all countries,

countries, however much policy may teach them to diſguiſe their thoughts.

When the aurora borealis is very bright, and varying much in form, colour, and ſituation, they ſay their deceaſed friends are very merry; but the immortality of the ſoul is by no means a general belief among the northern Indians; though their ſouthern neighbours have certainly ſome faint ideas of it. Yet they are very ſuperſtitious with reſpect to the exiſtence of ſeveral kinds of fairies, whom they call Nant-e-na, and whom they pretend ſometimes to ſee. Theſe are ſuppoſed to inhabit the different elements; and to ſome one or other of them, every change in their circumſtances is uſually aſcribed.

END OF VOL. XVII.

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